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PROCEEDINGS
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VOL. IV.

EDITED BY
ALFRED E. HUDD, F.S.A.,
Hon. Secretary.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGES
1. THE CHAPEL OF THE ASSUMPTION ON OLD BRISTOL BRIDGE. BY ALFRED E. HUDD, F.S.A., HON. SEC. ...	1—11
2. ANCIENT BRISTOL DOCUMENTS, No. XIV. AN EARLY 14TH CENTURY CONVEYANCE OF A HOUSE IN "FROMKBRUGGE STREET"; WITH NOTES. BY R. HALL WARREN, F.S.A.	12—16
3. BRISTOL CASTLE, EXISTING REMAINS. BY JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A.	17—19
4. THE CHURCH AND MONASTERY OF WESTBURY-ON-TRYM. BY THE REV. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A.	20—42
5. AUST AND ST. AUSTIN. BY THE REV. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A.	43—47
6. VANISHING BRISTOL. BY JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A. ...	48—57
7. THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW, CLEVEDON. BY R. HALL WARREN, F.S.A.	58—70
8. THE HERALDRY OF THE JENNYNS BRASS, CHURCHILL, SOMERSET. BY F. WERE	71—72
9. PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS, 1896. BY COL. J. R. BRAMBLE, F.S.A.	73—76
PROCEEDINGS OF THE CLUB, 1897	77—85
ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES, 1897	86—87
10. PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS, 1897. BY COL. J. R. BRAMBLE, F.S.A.	89—94
11. ANCIENT STANDARD WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO LOCAL SPECIMENS IN BRISTOL MUSEUM. BY W. R. BARKER, V.P.	95—108
12. ANCIENT BRISTOL DOCUMENTS, No. XV. A DEED RELATING TO THE PARTITION OF THE PROPERTY OF ST. JAMES'S PRIORY, BRISTOL. BY JOHN LATIMER	109—138

13. THE ANCIENT BASILICA OF SAN CLEMENTE, ROME. BY THE RT. REV. WM. BROWNLOW, D.D., BISHOP OF CLIFTON...	139—153
14. TWO EFFIGIES AT MANGOTSFIELD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. BY COL. J. R. BRAMBLE, F.S.A. ...	... 154—157
15. ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES FOR 1898. BY JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A. .. ...	... 158—161
16. CLAPTON-IN-GORDANO CHURCH, SOMERSET. BY R. HALL WARREN, F.S.A. .. ...	.. 162—168
17. WALTON-IN-GORDANO. BY R. HALL WARREN, F.S.A. ...	... 169—171
18. THE DAWN OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES. BY FRANCIS F. TUCKETT, F.R.G.S. ..	172—198
19. THE CRUCIFORM EARTHWORK ON BANWELL HILL, SOMERSET. BY A. T. MARTIN, M.A., F.S.A. ...	... 199—208
PROCEEDINGS OF THE CLUB, 1898 ...	... 209—216
20. A LOST ARCHITECTURAL FEATURE OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL. BY J. G. HOLMES .. ...	... 217—219
21. THE CHOIR OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL. BY R. HALL WARREN, F.S.A. .. ...	.. 220—235
22. REPORT OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT CAERWENT, MON., 1899. BY A. T. MARTIN, M.A., F.S.A. ...	... 236—240
23. SOME GORGES WILLS. BY THE REV. GEO. S. MASTER, M.A.	241—251
24. THE SAXON CROSS FOUND IN BATH, 1898. BY THE RT. REV. WILLIAM BROWNLOW, D.D., BISHOP OF CLIFTON ..	252—256
25. ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES FOR 1899. BY JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A. ... ..	... 257—263
26. SOME RESULTS OF THE BATTLES OF DEORHAM AND WAN- BOROUGH. BY THE RT. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL, D.D., F.S.A., PRESIDENT ...	... 264—276
27. BRISTOL TOKENS OF THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SQUARE FARTHING. BY JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A. ...	.. 277—289
28. THE CHOIR OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL. APPENDIX. BY R. HALL WARREN, F.S.A. ... ..	.. 290—292
29. CRESSET-STONES. BY ALFRED C. FRYER, PH.D., M.A. ...	293—299
PROCEEDINGS OF THE CLUB, 1899 ...	... 300—308

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

- | PLATE | |
|--------------------|--|
| ✓ I. | THE CHAPEL OF THE ASSUMPTION ON OLD BRISTOL BRIDGE. |
| ✓ II. | A 14TH CENTURY CONVEYANCE OF A HOUSE IN "PFROOMBRUGGE" STREET, BRISTOL. |
| ✓ III. | THE PITHAY, BRISTOL. |
| ✓ IV. | IVORY DRAUGHTSMAN OF THE 12TH CENTURY AND IVORY POMANDER FOUND IN BRISTOL. |
| ✓ V. | THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW, CLEVEDON. |
| ✓ VI. | A STANDARD QUART MEASURE OF 1601, IN THE BRISTOL MUSEUM. |
| ✓ VII. | A STANDARD PINT MEASURE OF CHARLES II., IN THE BRISTOL MUSEUM. |
| ✓ VIII. | GROUND PLAN OF THE ANCIENT BASILICA OF SAN CLEMENTE, ROME. |
| ✓ IX. | SECTION OF DITTO. |
| ✓ X. | CLAPTON-IN-GORDANO ; PLAN OF CHURCH ; ALTAR CANDLESTICK ; EAST END OF SACRISTY. |
| ✓ XI. | WALTON-IN-GORDANO CHURCH ; TOWER BEFORE " RESTORATION " ; TOWER ARCH ; NICHE EAST END. |
| ✓ XII. | GROUND PLAN OF CRUCIFORM EARTHWORK, BANWELL HILL, SOMERSET. |
| ✓ XIII. | FRAGMENTS OF THE ANCIENT PARAPET OF THE CHOIR OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL. |
| ✓ XIV. | RESTORED DESIGN OF THE PARAPET, FROM A DRAWING BY MR. HOLMES. |
| ✓ XV. | THE OLD WESTERN ENTRANCE TO THE CHOIR OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL. |
| ✓ XVI. | STONE SCULPTURES PRESERVED IN THE CLOISTER OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL. |
| ✓ XVII. and XVIII. | THE SAXON LEADEN CROSS FOUND IN BATH, 1898. ¹ |
| ✓ XIX. | PLAN. |
| ✓ XX. | BRISTOL FARTHING OF THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES. |

BLOCKS IN TEXT.

PAGE 154. EFFIGY IN MANGOTSFIELD CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

PAGE 272. PLAN OF ROMAN ROADS.

PAGE 301. TWO OLD IRON HINGES, FROM BRISTOL AND RODWAY MANOR.

¹ The Club is indebted to Major C. E. Davis, F.S.A., for these plates.



PLATE I.—THE CHAPEL ON THE BRIDGE.

Proceedings of the
Clifton Antiquarian Club.

1897.

The Chapel of the Assumption on Old
Bristol Bridge.

BY ALFRED E. HUDD, F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

(Read January 25th, 1897).

In the year 1247, during the mayoralty of Richard Aylard, great improvements were commenced in the town and port of Bristol. An ancient manuscript Calendar, now preserved in the Bristol Museum, contains the following entry:—

“1247. In this yeare was the river that is now called the Key digged, for before the port was at the Shambles, whence St. Marie’s Port takes name. This yeare the Bridge of Bristol was begun to be builded.”

Another ancient manuscript, quoted by Barrett, records¹:—

“1247. This year the mayor and commonalty concluded to build a bridge over the river Avon, with the consent of Redcliff and the governors of Temple fee, thereby minding to incorporate them with the towne of Brightestowe, and so make of both but one corporate towne.”

After an existence of more than five hundred years, Old Bristol Bridge was finally pulled down in 1763,² when a new and more convenient structure was erected on its site. In

¹ Barrett’s *History of Bristol*, p. 75.

² See an interesting account of the rebuilding of the bridge, 1764-1768, in Mr. John Latimer’s, *Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 334-336.

the middle of the foundations, on the south or Redcliff side, the workmen found some ancient wood-work, which was supposed to have belonged to the earlier wooden bridge. Some of the stone piers of the thirteenth century bridge were found to be so solidly built and so substantial that they were again made use of.¹

Like Old London Bridge, which had been built some fifty years earlier, the Bridge across the Avon was a very picturesque structure, containing numerous houses and shops, and a very popular Chapel. The Chapel on London Bridge was dedicated to St. Thomas á Becket, and was erected on the tenth pier. That on Bristol Bridge was built across the bridge, about in the centre of the stream, the roadway passing under it, through a pointed arch. It was dedicated to "the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary."

We do not know whether the buildings upon the Bridge were commenced at the same time, but they were most likely additions to the original structure. Probably, however, a Chapel of some kind existed upon the Bridge from its first foundation, and from a simple little Oratory gradually became one of the most popular and beautiful of the numerous shrines of our City of Churches. William Wyrcestre has recorded the date of the consecration of the Chapel on the Bridge, and has given an account of the building, as follows:—

[*Itinerary of William Wyrcestre*, Nasmith's edition, p. 166.]

Dallaway's edition, p. 27. "Longitudo capellæ Beatæ Mariæ, in medio Pontis scituatæ continet 25 virgas. Latitudo ejus continet 7 virgas."²

Id., p. 108. "Pons Bristoll. Altitudo turris quadratæ campanilæ in sinistra capellæ edificatæ de petra ab area continet

¹ Barrett's *History of Bristol*, p. 77.

² Dallaway's edition, p. 27. In another place Wyrcestre writes, "Longitudo capellæ pontis Bristol continet 36 steppys. Latitudo capellæ prædictæ 12 steppys." *Itin.*, Nasmyth edn., p. 120. As usual, his measurements cannot be relied upon; his "gressus" or paces average about two feet, which would make this second measurement 72 feet by 24, instead of 75 by 21, as above.

ad cameram campanarum 15 brachia, et per cordas campanarum mensuratas, et altissima camera continet in altitudine circa tria brachia, sic in tota altitudinæ circa 18 brachia."

Id., p. 109. "Longitudo pontis prædictæ continet 94 gressus. Memorandum quod Helyas Spelly burgensis villæ Bristoll est, et fuit cum . . . majores benefactores capellæ predictæ, ut patet in fenestris vitreatis cum figura eorum et uxorum suarum in dictis fenestris, videlicet Helyas Spelly."

Id., p. 116. "Capella pulcherrima cum voltâ larga at alta archuata cum lapidibus, subtus capellam Beatæ Mariæ Virginis super medium locum pontis Bristollæ, ac super pontem fortissimum archuatum cum magnis boteraces, cujus frons extendit ab occidentali pontis Bristollæ contigue cum longo ponte Bristollæ, et archus dictæ frontis, brevis respectû alterius pontis ad partem orientalem super aquam Avyn."

"Turris quadratus pro campanis pulsandis super fundum capellæ predictæ continet in altitudine 18 brachia."

Id., p. 120. "1361. Dedicacio capellæ pontis Bristoll die 4 Febr. Longitudo capellæ 25 virgæ; latitudo capellæ 7 virgæ; altitudo capellæ 50 gradus, computatur super quatuor stages."

"Et est volta in inferiori loco pro aldermannis villæ, continet tantam longitudinem sicut ecclesiæ cum navi. Et 4 fenestræ magnæ quolibet latere, et quælibet fenestra habet 3 luces. Et alta fenestra in orientali parte altaris continet . . . Et aliud parvum altare cum parva capella in orientaliori principalis altaris circa longitudinem 3 virgarum. Et capella continet voltam, capellam, ac aulam cum officiis, altam cameram ac altiorem cameram de lapidibus."

By the kindness of the authorities of the Bristol Museum I am enabled to show a copy of an ancient drawing which has recently been presented to that Institution by one of our members, Mr. Alfred C. Pass. This gives us a much better idea of what the Bridge and Chapel were like, than any printed account or previously known illustration. (See Plate I.)

The drawing dates apparently from the end of the sixteenth century, or quite early in the seventeenth, and shows the Bridge as it appeared from the Redcliff end. The Chapel of the Assumption is shown crossing the structure, the roadway passing

under it through a pointed arch of thirteenth or early fourteenth century date; above this appear the four large windows of the south wall of the Chapel, with Decorated or Geometrical tracery, of late fourteenth century date. The whole surmounted by a curious tower of four stages, with corner buttresses, and a pointed (leaden ?) roof.

This tower could not have been a late addition to the Chapel, as it is named in a document dated 1349, quoted by the late Mr. John Taylor in his *Book about Bristol*, p. 264. It is said by William Wyrcestre to have been 108 feet high—"from the area of the bridge to the summit of the belfry, 90 feet; to the top of the tower, 18 feet; total 108 feet." Its remains were probably destroyed in the fire of February 17th, 1646, when a great part of the bridge and many of the old wooden houses were burned.¹ There is no indication of the Tower in the curious view of the Bridge given by Barrett, p. 80, from a drawing "made in 1760, at the time it was about to be taken down."

Though he quotes Wyrcestre's account, Barrett seems to have had a very mistaken idea as to the size and importance of the Bridge Chapel, as he says (p. 79) that it was "but a small room, having three Gothic windows on each side, . . . and over the Chapel were the priests' chambers."

Wyrcestre tells us that its windows were ornamented with stained glass commemorating Elias Spelly and his wife, and other benefactors, and frequent references to the Chapel in old wills, etc., show that it was one of the most popular of the City churches in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Seyer, in his *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. ii, p. 39, after quoting Wyrcestre's "general description of this extraordinary edifice," says that, at the time he wrote (c. 1820, A.D.), "there were many within memory to testify to its accuracy." Among others he names Mr. Allen, Mr. Barrett (the historian), and "Mr. P., whom I lately consulted, who has been in it numberless times when

¹ The houses were rebuilt with lead and timber taken from Ragland Castle and parks, upon their surrender to Fairfax, Aug. 19th, in this same year." Evans' *Chronological History of Bristol*, p. 209.

it was a pewterer's shop, and has a perfect recollection of its situation and everything about it." All these agreed that the pier which carried the prolongation of the shop, formerly supporting the Lady Chapel, was on the left hand going towards Redcliff, and that Wyrcestre was therefore wrong in describing it as "*occidentalis*." He also seems to have made a mistake in describing the Gothic windows as having "three lights each." The drawing clearly shows four lights in each window.

The rooms on the ground floor, on either side of the Gate, were used for secular purposes. The door on the east side of the arch "opened into a large vaulted room of handsome workmanship, where the Mayor and Aldermen of the town used to assemble; length about 40 feet by 21." The room on the west side was smaller.

In this large room under the Chapel a banquet was given, in September 1553, to "the Earl of Surrey, the Duke of Norfolk's son and heir apparent, when he came to Bristowe, and was received by the Mayor and Aldermen, upon the Bridge."¹

Barrett states (p. 79) that these vaulted chambers were, in 1649, after the fire, granted to Walter Stevens and his son, to be built upon, but Mr. Latimer informs me that this is an error, and has kindly supplied me with the real history of the transactions as gathered from the Bristol Corporation Records.

"30 Sept. 36 Elizth (1594). The Mayor and Commonalty enfeofed Wiffm Vawer, merchant, of the *sile* or house of the Chapel on the Bridge, with the cell, vault, or room under the same, and the house annexed to the chapel called the Priests' Chamber, and also of another house or lodge in S^t Thomas Street with an adjoining garden. Fee-farm rent reserved, £3 13. 4. The Corporation covenant to repair the arches and water works whereon the chapel standeth."

I can find no record of the deed mentioned by Barrett, and the Corporation could not have granted the property twice over. What he has bungled over, apparently, is the following minute in the Common Council Books:—

"13 Feb' 1648-9, Walter Stephens hath now promised to

¹ Evans' *Chronological Outline*, p. 144.

conform to the order of the Mayor and Justices, and will either pull down or forthwith repair the *arch hanging over the highway* leading over the Bridge, which is very dangerous to people travelling that way." Stephens held the property as assignee of the above Vawer or his heirs. Over 20 years later, when the Corporation was raising money by various expedients to buy the city fee farms from Charles II., they sold to Stephens, for £66, the reserved rent of £3 13 4., by a conveyance dated 28 Sept. 1671."

We do not know when the building of this beautiful Chapel was commenced, but William Wyrcestre informs us that it was dedicated on the 4th day of February, 1361. The architecture shown in the drawing agrees fairly well with this date, being somewhat earlier in type than that of the beautiful Church at Edington, Wilts, which was also dedicated in 1361. In the latter case there are decided signs of the change from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style in the window tracery, a change not indicated in the drawing of the Bridge Chapel windows. Probably this part of the building dates some few years before the dedication, and the lower stage may be considerably older, not much later, perhaps, than the Bridge itself, which was commenced in 1247.

Barrett quotes from *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, p. 185, that "This Chapel was erected and founded by Edward III. and his Queen Philippa," and says that "John Hakston and John Hauker gave two messuages and three shops on the Back of Avon to John Gweyn, Chaplain there, for a perpetual Chantry in this Chapel to pray for the King's health, 49th Edward III." (A.D., 1375). Mr. Latimer has kindly referred to the *Great Red Book*, and sends me the correct entries, as follow:—

"8 Feb^r 48 Edw^d III (1374). The King's license to John Hakston and John Hauker to amortise two messuages and 3 shops in Bristol for the foundation of a chantry for services for the good of himself and of his soul after death, of that of Philippa his late wife, and of all the faithful dead, in the Chapel of the Assumption of the Virgin, of our and our late Queen's foundation."

"Feast of All Saints, 49 Ed. III (1375). John Hakston to John Oweyn, chaplain and his successors. (Chapel again stated to have been founded by the King and Queen). Grant of two houses and a shop on the Back and two shops newly built by John Hauker on the Bridge. Daily service to be held. The Mayor to be the patron."

In his *Book about Bristol*, our late member, Mr. John Taylor, mentions some ancient references to the Chapel, the Bridge, and the old houses. Thus: "A.D. 1349, John de Wycomb grants to Geoffry Beanflour (or Beauflour) and his wife, Wycomb's daughter, two houses and two shops on the Bridge, adjoining the tower on the said bridge." Another, "A.D. 1360, Walter Taunton and John Lange, proctors of the Chapel of the Assumption, on Abbon Bridge, grant to Geoffry Beanflour 12d. annual rent of a house in Tucker St."

From *The Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills*, also preserved in the Bristol Council House, we find numerous records of legacies to the Chapel; among others—

A.D., 1382. Nicholas Chepman, burgess.

„ 1382. Robert Cheddre, of Bristol. Bailiff, 1352; Mayor, 1360-61, and 1362-63.

„ 1383. Nigel Chepstowe, burgess.

„ 1385. John Pedewell, burgess.

„ 1385. John Stanes, or Stanys, of Bristol. Bailiff, 1379, 1380, and 1383.

„ 1385. Walter Derby, burgess. Four times Bailiff, and five times Mayor, between 1352 and 1386. He was a wine-merchant.

„ 1387. Walter Stodeley, burgess. Sheriff, 1378.

„ 1388. John Muleward, burgess.

„ 1392. William Pedewell, burgess.

„ 1404. Robert Spisour, burgess.

„ 1407. Thomas Gloucester, burgess. Bailiff, 1400; Sheriff, 1404.

„ 1413. John Sely, burgess. Bailiff, Sheriff, and Mayor, between 1401 and 1411.

„ 1417. William Hurdeman, burgess.

„ 1430. Henry Gildeney, burgess. Sheriff, 1429.

"1494, 5 Mar: 9 Henry VII. John Bagot, late of Bristol, Esquire, and Elizth his wife by a roundabout legal process, granted to John Esterfield and six others, as trustees, 4 messuges, cellars, &c., in Grope Lane, the rents to be paid to Bagot for life and afterwards for the performance of a yearly obit in the Chapel on the Bridge on the 7th May for ever, at which 4 priests and 2 clerks were to be present, & 40^d in bread given to the prisoners in Newgate and the poor. The residue to be paid to the Mayor and Commonalty." John Esterfeld was Sheriff, 1482-3; Mayor, 1487-8, and 1494-5.

Probably, some of the above-mentioned benefactors were among those said by William Wyrcestre to have been represented with their wives in the stained-glass windows of the Chapel, including the before-named Elyas Spelly and wife. Strange to say, there is no mention of the Chapel on the Bridge in the Will of Elyas, or Elias Spelly, which is in *The Great Orphan Book*, No. 44, dated "Jan. 13th, 1390." In it he leaves legacies to various religious foundations and charities in Bristol and elsewhere, but the only mention of Bristol Bridge is a legacy "to Thos. Morton, burgess of Bristol, the corner tenement at the end of the Bridge of Avon, as one goes towards Touker stret." According to the various Bristol Calendars, Ellis, Ellys, Elyas or Ellias Spelly (also written Spill, Spilley, Spiley and Spillie) was Mayor of Bristol four times, in 1369-70, 1378-9, 1382-3, and 1390-91.

There appears to be no further foundation for Dallaway's statement (*Antiquities of Bristol*, p. 73, note) that "the Chapel was built by Elyas Spelly, Mayor," than the mention by Wyrcestre of his portrait having been in one of the stained glass windows among the benefactors to the Chapel. Probably, his gift to the Chapel had been made when he first became Mayor, in 1389, soon after the consecration of the building.

Mr. Latimer has kindly called my attention to another of Barrett's errors. In his *History of Bristol*, p. 79, he says:—

"In a letter from Pope Sixtus 4th, dated April 10, eleventh year of his consecration, this Chapel is said to be built and well

endowed by certain burgesses and commons of the town; *in honore et sub vocabalo beatæ Mariæ Virginis* . . . The Pope grants leave for ringing the bells," etc.

Mr. Latimer has consulted the *Great Red Book* and sends me the following summary of the record:—

"9 Kalends April [24 March], 11th Boniface [ix=1400]. The Pope's license to Wm. Tamworth priest of Bristol, reciting the construction of the Chapel by the Mayor and Commonalty, and permitting him to serve in it and to say mass without impediment of the rector of St. Nicholas."

It will be seen from the above that the Pope's letter was written in the year 1400, not 1482, as given by Barrett.

Pope Boniface IX. (Tomacelli), was elected 1387, and died 1404; Pope Sixtus IV. (Frasisco della Rovere, of Savona), was elected 1471, died 1484.

Legacies are also recorded in *The Book of Wills*, by John Benley, burgess, A.D. 1416, and by Thos. Pappeworthe, burgess, in 1424, to "the Fraternity of the Blessed Mary upon the Bridge of Avon." Mr. Latimer informs me that in the particulars of Grants, temp. Edw^d VI., is the following:—

"Fraternity of the Chapel of Assumption of B.V.M. Bristol.

Farm of a house and shop on the Bridge	4	10	0
do. on the Bridge	53	4	
do. do. (St. Thos. parish)	26	8	"

This is followed by a memorandum to the effect that all the tenements, except one in Tucker Street, were given by deed to the Master and brethren of the Brotherhood of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin on the Bridge, which is a brotherhood of temporal persons not incorporated, the Master of which has always been the Mayor of Bristol, and two men who have been Sheriffs are yearly chosen by the Mayor and his brethren to be Proctors for receiving the rents and to survey the reparation of the bridge end of the lands of the Brotherhood. The intent of the foundation was, greatly, to maintain a Chaplain of the Chapel to pray for all Christian souls for a yearly stipend of £6 13s. 4d., which Chaplain since the beginning has been also the Chaplain to the Mayor, giving daily attendance upon him;

and partly for the finding of priests and clerks to sing mass every Saturday [the rest of the paper is missing]. Chantry MSS.

"There can be little doubt that this Memorandum represents the case of the Corporation, which wished to save the Chapel estate from the spoliators. The latter, however, were granted the house property, which was included in the enormous purchase of Sir Miles and Hugh Partridge, who paid the Government £4258 17s. 6d. (about ten years value) for the local chantries. But the Corporation secured the site of the Chapel, the Priest's Chamber, and all the lead, etc., for £50, and sold the bells 'and other implements' for £11; but this sum they had to refund to the King."

A letter, attributed to a Monsieur Rochfort, not dated, but about 1670, is printed in *Bristol Past and Present*, vol. iii, p. 61:—

"Three streets begin at the Bridge over this river; it is covered with houses and shops, and here dwell the richest merchants of the town. Near this place is a pleasant walk in a beautiful meadow by the river side. Having passed the Bridge, you come to a great arcade, supporting a church¹ with a clock and tower on it; which makes the entry into several handsome streets leading to all parts of the town."

Millerd's map of "the famous cittie of Bristoll," dated 1671, shows the Bridge, with its houses and St. Nicholas' Gate and Church, as above described; also the Chapel of the Assumption, crossing the centre of the Bridge, of which "Mons. Rochfort" makes no mention.

Seyer remarks (p. 37) of the old Bridge that, "As a place of trade it was particularly valuable being necessarily a crowded (*sic*) thoroughfare; even to its final demolition in 1763, the houses were let at the highest rents in the city, many of the wealthiest tradesmen lived there, and no small portion of some ample fortunes still existing was gained in them. The houses were not small, being four and even five stories high, and the back part of them healthy and pleasant."

Mr. J. Taylor records in his *Book about Bristol*, p. 265, that,

¹ The Gate and Church of St. Nicholas.

"In one of the overhanging, gabled, picturesque houses of the old bridge was born, in 1546 (Tobias) Matthew, Archbishop of York, and coadjutor of Robert Redwood in the foundation of the Bristol City Library. He was son of John Matthew mercer." (See *Barrett*, p. 652 and *Evans*.) "Old Bristol Bridge had the prestige of being the birthplace also of Dr. William Thomas, Bishop of Worcester, whose father, like Matthew's, kept here a linen draper's shop. He was born Feb. 2nd 1613, and baptized in St. Nicholas' Church." (*Barrett*, p. 653.) Some interesting particulars are given by Mr. Taylor of both these distinguished Bristolians.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1807, a letter was printed from Pope to Mrs. Blount, in which the poet gives a graphic description of the Bridge, as he saw it in 1733. In this letter Pope describes his entry into Bristol "over a bridge built on both sides, like London Bridge, and as much crowded with a strange mixture of seamen, women, children, loaded horses, asses, and sledges with goods, dragging along together, without posts to separate them. From thence you come to a Key along the old wall, and in the middle of the street, as far as you can see, hundreds of ships, their masts as thick as they can stand by one another, which is the oddest and most surprising sight imaginable. This street is fuller of them than the Thames from London Bridge to Deptford, and at certain times only, the water rises to carry them out; so that at other times a long street, full of ships in the middle, and houses on both sides looks like a dream."

Perhaps, some of our nineteenth century Bristol merchants would like a return of this dream, "hundreds of ships, as far as you can see," crowding our city wharves.

Ancient Bristol Documents.

No. XIV.

**An Early Fourteenth Century Conveyance of a House
in "ffrombrugge Stret": with Notes.**

BY ROBERT HALL WARREN, F.S.A., V.P.

(Read December 1st, 1896.)

The deed which I now lay before the Club, and which is a model of legal brevity, covering only 9 ins. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins., is the conveyance from Peter Paraventure to his son David of a house, situate in the suburb of Bristol, in "ffrombruggestret," opposite the Church of St. Laurence, between the house which formerly belonged to David la Warre on the one side, and land which belonged to Roysie' la Juvene, on the other side, which same tenement he had by gift from Philip le Lung, son and heir of Ely le Lung. He also gives to his said son David, one silver marc annually, derived from a certain house recently built by William Randolph, "in Redeclyve stret, near the corner against the bridge of Avon."

The witnesses to this deed are:—John le Taverner, Mayor of Bristol, William Randolph, Thomas de la Grave, William de Axe, John Welesschote, and others. To it is attached a circular seal $1\frac{1}{8}$ ins. dia: of green wax, the design being two birds in pale, and the legend in Lombardic characters "S'PETRI: PARANTVR:" Who this man was with the very questionable name I have not been able to discover, but he seems to have been an important personage, having a seal of his own, and he certainly is associated in this deed with some of the best known burgesses of the town. On the face of the deed his name is spelt "Praventure"; on the

¹ There is a "Roysia," wife of Thomas de Westone, party to a deed dated 1286, a lease of two shops in Wynche Street, Bristol. *Archæological Journal*, vol. xviii, p. 375.

seal, "Parantur"; and on the endorsement of the deed, "Paraventure." The date is fixed approximately by the mayoralty of John le Taverner, who served the office in the years 1308, 1309, 1313.

William Randolph was Mayor in 1306 and again in 1315, and there was a member of the De Lung family, John, by name, who was associated with Randolph in the former year as Prepositor. Randolph's seal, with his merchant mark, is to be found on documents in the Church of St. Thomas, Bristol.

Thomas de la Grame, according to the British Museum manuscript, or Thomas de Longreve, by that in the possession of Mr. Fox, seems to be the same person, with different spellings, as our Thomas de la Grave, whose name is entered in this way in Ricarts' Calendar as Mayor under the year 1303. William de Axe was Mayor in 1323, a former member of the family, Radulphus de Axe, being Seneschal in 1274. So that of the five attesting parties, four filled the office of Chief Magistrate, and the fifth, John Weleschote, presumably the same as John Walishot (Ricart) or John de Welleysholt (Fox MS.), was Bailiff in 1315, when William Randolph was Mayor. The seal of John Welischot is on a document (No. 297) A.D. 1315, in the possession of Alderman F. F. Fox, and bears the appropriate device of a bow and arrow, with stars and crescents in the field. In 1294, John Welyshote agreed to pay Roger de Pembroke and others the sum of 60 marks for a messuage called "Rede Hall" in Redcliff Street. I cannot trace David la Warre, who had the house opposite to St. Laurence's Church, but other members of his family occur about this time. Thus Roger de Warre and John le Warre were witnesses to a covenant between the Abbot and Convent of St. Augustine, Bristol, and the Mayor and Commonalty, for the sale of land to make the new trench from the Gybbe Tailloure to the Key (Seyer, *Mem. Bristol*, vol. ii, p. 19), and John le Warre was Mayor in 1287. These family names seem frequently recurring in close association. During the first mayoralty of William Randolph (1306) he complained to the king that he was beaten at Dundry fair by the Lord of

Berkeley and his servants, who claimed sole jurisdiction in Redcliff Street, which the Mayor declined to acknowledge. He calls special attention to the cruel treatment of Adam the Cheeseman, whose "legs they brake in such pitiful manner that the marrow came out of his shin bones." Likewise, they beat and maimed William le Lunge, the king's servant, as he came from Gloucester towards Bristol.

In 1316, William Randolph, Thomas de la Grave, John Weleschote, John de Axbrugg, Burgesses of Bristol, were appointed under the common seal of the town to plead with the king for his favour in the matter of the great insurrection. The king granted a pardon on payment of a fine of 4,000 marks, excepting John Taverner, Thomas, his son, and Robert Martyn, whom he probably considered leaders of the insurrection.¹ The references to localities are interesting, and I believe in the case of "Frome Bridge Street," unique;² and as the Church of St. Lawrence lay to the west of that of St. John the Baptist, with the tower common to both, the site of the tenement is fixed as that now occupied by Messrs. Fry's factory in Quay Street; while the house in Redcliff Street, from which a rent charge of a silver marc was created, "near the corner, against the Bridge of Avon," was on the site afterwards occupied by the "Great House," which played a very important part in the hospitalities of the City in the seventeenth century, and of which I am able to shew a view. This elevation of the Redcliff Street front is a reproduction of a drawing now in the Bristol Museum, presented by our member, Mr. Pass.

Seyer gives an engraving (*Bristol*, vol. ii., pl. 2, p. 37) from Millerd's Map of Bristol shewing "a prospect of ye great house in Redcliff Street taken from ye back of Bristoll," and which he speaks of (p. 34) as "the large and famous house belonging to the Rogers's at the corner of Redcliff Street and the bridge,

¹ Seyer's *Bristol*, vol. ii., pp. 93 and 108.

² A tenement in Horstrete otherwise called Fromebriggestrete, now called Host Street, is named in the will of Edmund Bierden, A.D. 1435. See the *Bristol Great Orphan Book*, Will No. 227.—ED.

taken down by the Bridge Commissioners.' The date of this map is 1671. The house had good reason to be called after the Rogers' family, for it must have been in their possession for nearly 250 years. In his will, dated May 28th 1588, Richard Rogers the elder, soapmaker, leaves to his son Robert and his heirs "the corner house at the Bridge End in Bristol, turning into Redcliff Street, in the occupation of Jas. Inshall, goldsmith, which testator bought of Mr. Maurice Rodney, Esq.," etc. In the smaller bird's eye view of "The Citty of Bristoll," also by "Jacobus Millerd de Bristoll," the great house is shewn from the Redcliff Street side of the bridge, and the louvre is carefully marked, thus distinguishing it from the uniformity of the surrounding houses, and identifying it with the building shewn on the larger plan.

In this mansion, on Saturday, September 5th, 1663, Sir Richard Rogers received at his dinner table King Charles II. and his Queen, with James, Duke of York, Prince Rupert and several noblemen (*Evans' Chron. Hist.*, p. 222).

One hundred and fifty pieces of cannon were discharged in the Marsh, one volley on the king's arrival at the Bridge End, one when he had dined, and the third at his departure for Bath. The Royal party entered the City at Lawford's Gate, and the merry monarch must have contrasted his present fortunes with those of twelve years before, when he came the same way, in stealthy disguise, with Mistress Jane Lane.

Mr. Taylor (*Book about Bristol*, p. 264) says "At the opposite side of the way and overlooking the river was Sir Thomas Day's 'great house,' where Queen Anne with Prince George were entertained in 1702 at a cost to the City of £466." Both the views indicate a house of Elizabethan character; that of the river front shows a large four-storied building with an octagonal louvre in the centre of the roof. It is separated from the river by a crenellated wall, pierced by several windows, three of which form bays considerably overhanging the water. Between two of the upper windows is a large coat of arms "Ermine on a chief wavy, two double-headed Eagles displayed," which is probably one of the numerous variations of Rodney.

The Redcliff Street elevation shews the louvre, and also a

square glazed room built over the Porch, and the gables are enriched with prominent hip-knobs.

DEED ENDORSED—"Carta Pet. paraventur de ten. Will^m le Raper, ex opposito eccl. Sancti Laurⁱ and "xiii^a iiij^a out of the house, Redcliff Street," in later writing.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Petrus Praventure dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi David Praventure filio meo totum illud tenementum cum omnibus suis pertinentiis quod situatur in suburbio Bristoll in ffrombruggestret ex opposito ecclesiæ sancti Laurentii inter tenementum quod quondam fuit David la Warre ex parte una et terram quæ fuit roysie la juvene ex altera quod quidem tenementum habui ex dono et incartacione Philippi le Lung filii et heredis Elye le Lung. Dedi etiam et concessi idem David filio meo unam marcam argenti annui redditus assisi quam annuatim percipere consuevi de quodam tenemento Willielmi Randulph quod de novo edificavit in Redeclyvestret juxta cornerium versus pontem abone. Habendum et tenendum totum predictum tenementum cum omnibus suis pertinentiis ac percipiendam totam predictam marcam annui redditus assisi de tenemento Willielmi Randulph antedicto ad quatuor anni terminos communes et usuales per equas porciones sibi prædicto David filio meo annuatim libere quiete bene et in pace de capitalibus dominis feodi illius in feodo jure hereditatis in perpetuum per servicia de supradicto tenemento dictis capitalibus dominis annuatim debita et consueta. Pro hac autem donacione concessione et hujus presentis cartæ meæ confirmatione dictus David in perpetuum servicii suis plene satisfecit unde me habeo bene contentum et perpacatum et ego predictus Petrus et heredes mei et mei assignati totum supradictum tenementum cum omnibus suis pertinentiis et totam predictam marcam annui redditus assisi cum suis pertinentiis sibi predicto David filio meo et heredibus suis et suis assignatis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus acquietabimus et in perpetuum defendemus. In cujus rei testimonium hanc presentem cartam impressione sigilli mei roboravi his testibus Johanne le Taverner tunc Majore Bristoll Willielmo Randulph Thoma de la Grave Willielmo ed Axe Johanne Welesschote et aliis.



PLATE II.—ANCIENT BRISTOL DOCUMENT.

Bristol Castle : Existing Remains.

By JOHN E. PRITCHARD.

(Read January 25th, 1897.)

Notwithstanding that Cromwell's order to demolish Bristol Castle was literally carried into effect, it is hardly surprising that some minor parts should have escaped the fury of the destroyers; but it is a marvel that the small portions now remaining, which were overlooked at the time, should still exist, after an interval of nearly two centuries and a half, bearing in mind the ever-changing ownership, and the steady march of City improvements, before which practically nothing can stand.

It is, therefore, over the future preservation of these precious relics of a feudal age that so much anxiety exists amongst many members of this Club. In my younger days I sent numerous missives to the local papers about the wretched condition of these vestiges of Earl Robert's stronghold, thinking, I suppose, it was only to remind the Civic authorities of their apparent neglect to get the matter put right. Unfortunately, at that time, I knew very little of the duty and responsibility of Corporations, and it is in order that the various circumstances in connection with this historic property may be more clearly understood, that I am referring to the subject.

As this matter has been brought before the Club on previous occasions, and letters have constantly appeared in our local papers touching this subject, it has been considered expedient to explain the difficulties which surround the whole question, which cannot be generally known.

In the first place, it is hardly necessary to say that the scanty

18 *Bristol Castle: Existing Remains.*

relics of this vast fortress comprise two vaulted chambers,¹ to be seen in Tower Street, which leads from the lower end of Castle Street, and a portion of a tower, and fragment of a wall in the rear. The apartment on the south side is in the Early English style, and is believed to have been the portico or vestibule to the banqueting hall; but at the present time it has a tenement built into it!

The other chamber, on the northern side, is of the Perpendicular period, and may have been an anti-chapel or waiting room. Both apartments stand on land owned by the Broadmead Trustees, forming part of a bequest known as "the Foskett and Terrill Charity." The northern chamber, with a frontage to Tower Street, constitutes part of a block of freehold property, owned by the Trustees, which has been let on lease, for certain periods, almost uninterruptedly, since the beginning of the present century. The south apartment which adjoins—together with the cellar under—belongs to a private estate, though subject to a ground rent, payable to the Trustees; but the room over is connected with, and forms part of, *still another property*. There is a "right of way" through one of the passages, so that this difficulty can be at once understood. During 1895 the question of acquiring the entire property and preserving the relics, was carefully considered by several members of the Club, and in conjunction with Col. Bramble, Mr. Barker, and Mr. Hudd, we approached the Town Clerk in order to ascertain under what conditions the City has the power to purchase historic property. It was at once pointed out that unless there was a specific requirement, no money could be appropriated for such a purpose.

It was then thought that possibly the Bristol School Board might be glad to add to the very inadequate playground attached to the Castle Green Schools, or use the site for the contemplated Pupil Teachers' Central School. After approaching that body and obtaining numerous interviews, the site was officially inspected by the Chairman (Mr. Woodward) and other members, with the result that we were asked to obtain a price from the Trustees.

¹ See Seyer's *Bristol*, vol. i, pp. 384-387, illustrated with a ground-plan and engravings of the "Crypt" and "Portico."

The property was subsequently surveyed for that Trust by Messrs. Ashmead, and after carefully considering the subject, the Board instructed their own Surveyor (Mr. W. Sturge) to report upon the matter.

Up to that point all went well, but then came the difficulty, for whilst the Broadmead Trustees expressed themselves as willing to dispose of this somewhat troublesome house property, which brought in a certain annual rental, the question of sale would have to be approved by the "Charity Commissioners," as, unless such a sum was paid for it as would bring in when re-invested in Trustee security an *equivalent* income, that body would be unable to confirm the sale. To the price named in the freehold, or northern section, together with the fee-farm ground rent of the south portion, the Board would have to add the value, upon a compulsory purchase, of the "remains" with tenements adjoining upon the south portion just referred to, in addition to the cost of securing the room over, so that the price upon a "forced" sale would have been very considerable.

The Board, therefore, after carefully considering the subject, had no alternative but to "decline the purchase," as the "probable ultimate cost of the property made it prohibitive."

The *status in quo* is therefore precisely what it has been for fully half-a-century. All antiquaries will regret that the School Board was unable to carry out the scheme of purchase, especially as the prospective plan was to utilize the two vaulted chambers for separate entrances to the Pupil Teachers' School; and bearing in mind that the owner of some of the tenements absolutely refused to sell, the compulsory powers owned by this board alone would have availed.

At the present time there is no possibility of acquiring the property upon which the relics stand, even supposing the requisite funds were forthcoming, the value of which has been approximately estimated at £2,500.

The Church and Monastery of Westbury-on-Trym.

BY THE REV. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., VICAR OF BANWELL.

(Read September, 28th, 1897.)

The Church of Westbury-on-Trym is not only one of the most beautiful in the shire, as regards its fabric, but is also, I suppose, the most interesting of all our Gloucestershire Parish Churches, if we consider the history of its foundation, and the subsequent changes of ecclesiastical status through which it has passed. It has been in turn a missionary centre; a house of canons of the old English fashion; a Benedictine monastery, indeed, the monastery which formed the type which the other great Benedictine houses in England followed; a house of secular canons; for a short time a Bishop's See; and finally a plain parish church as we see it now. Sadly impoverished indeed as regards worldly wealth, but rich in an inheritance of noble memories, such as no parish church in our shire, and very few in all England can claim.

The history of the Church of Westbury is, in fact, an epitome of the history of the Church of England. Beginning as a missionary station, planted amid the woods by the river side, just as such stations are planted in Central Africa now, it developed into a monastery from whence clergy went forth to minister to the spiritual needs of the district before there was a settled system of parochial clergy. By the time of King Alfred the life of religion had died down in the monasteries, they had lost their influence, and outlived their usefulness, and it was not till the Benedictine revival under King Edgar had rekindled the light of learning within their walls, and breathed a new life into their dry bones, that they once more became a power for good in

the land. And it was at Westbury that St. Oswald kindled the spark of the flame of light and warmth that leaped from monastery to monastery throughout Mercia and East Anglia.

Then, when the Benedictine system in its turn began to fail, and men looked to other orders for true religion and useful learning, a house of Secular Canons was founded on the ruins of the Benedictine house, as the Benedictines had superseded the old English Priests.

For a few years a Bishop of Worcester fixed his Bishop's stool here, claiming, like his brethren, to the north and south a double title—that of Worcester and Westbury. Then the blast of destruction swept over the land, and the community which, under different rules and various titles, had been settled here for more than eight centuries, shrank into a Curate, and the noble church became a chapel. For two hundred and forty years a house of old English Priests, for some three hundred and thirty years a possession of Benedictine Monks, for two hundred and forty years more an abode of Secular Canons, and, finally, for three hundred and sixty years, a parish church, stripped of everything except its beautiful fabric and its noble memories—that is a summary of the history of the Church of Westbury.

The first mention that we find of a church here is in 804, when Æthelric, the son of Æthelmund, left to his mother Ciolburga, for her life, an estate at Westmynster and Stoce, with reversion to the Cathedral at Worcester.¹ It is worth noting that in another copy of the document dating from the tenth century the names are given as Westbyri and Stoke.² There was clearly, therefore, a minster or monastery here at that time. But there is good reason for thinking that it had been already in existence for a long time. About ten years before Æthelric's disposition of his property, King Offa had restored to Worcester Cathedra land at Westbury which King Æthelbald had formerly bestowed upon Eanulf to be held free from secular burdens so long

¹ Cartularium Saxonicum, 313. This authority is referred to as C.S.

² C.S., 314.

as the Christian faith remained among the English.¹ Eanulf was a cousin of King Æthelbald, and was the founder of a famous monastery at Bredon, in Worcestershire, which produced an Archbishop of Canterbury—Tatwin—within seventeen years of its foundation.

As Bredon was founded by the advice of St. Egwine, Bishop of Worcester, who died in 717, and with the permission of Ethelbald, who began to reign in 716, the date of its foundation may be exactly fixed; and, probably, Westbury was founded about the same time.² At any rate, the name of Eanulf is not found in any of the many grants of the time of King Æthelbald, as it would, no doubt, have been found if he had been still living.

The Church of Westbury then was founded about eleven hundred and eighty years ago; we will pause a moment to think what this means. In 716, the King, Æthelbald, was a great-nephew of Penda, the last mainstay of heathenism among the English, and a cousin of St. Werburgh, to whom churches were dedicated at Bristol and Henbury, and who had died less than seven years before. The men of Sussex had accepted Christianity only thirty-six years before, and St. Wilfred, their Apostle, had died only eight years before. Eanulf must have known him well, for he was a frequent visitor at the Mercian Court. The Venerable Bede was still living, as was also Osric, who had founded the minster at Bath forty years before, and who was yet to reign over the Northumbrians for eleven years before he found his last resting place, in 729, beneath the roof of his own Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Gloucester.

England was split up into petty kingdoms; Westbury was in the realm of the Huiccians, a division of the Mercian kingdom, Leigh and the country on the other side of Avon was in Wessex; and the Mercians and West-Saxons had met in mortal fight at Wanborough in 715. And yet through all that lapse of ages, great, if reckoned by years, greater

¹ C.S., 272, 278.

² *Archæological Journal*, xix, 246.

still if measured by differences of civilisation and outward circumstances, there has been a church at Westbury, a centre of light and civilisation for the people around.

No doubt, when Eanulf's church was founded, its nearest neighbour was the minster at Bath, which, unless the *Via Julia* were still kept open, would have been best reached by water, since the country between the two churches must have been then, as it was long afterwards, a dense forest. Eanulf also founded a church at Yate, on land granted to him by King Æthelbald, which, with its land, was granted by King Offa and Aldred, Viceroy of the Huiccians to Worcester Cathedral about 778.¹

Nothing is heard of the church or church-land at Westbury till about the end of the eighth century, when it, and also thirty cassates at Henbury and Aust, which had been given to Worcester Cathedral by Æthelred, King of the Mercians, about 692², are the subject of several grants of King Offa. All the land, except that of five "Manentes" at Aust, had fallen into his hands, though there is nothing to shew how this had come to pass. The land at Aust was restored to the Cathedral by the Comes Bynna at a Synod at Cloveshoe in 794³ and about the same time also at a Synod at Cloveshoe Offa, granted fifty-five cassates at Westbury to Æthelmund.⁴ By another document, which bears no mark of place or date, but which, judging by the names of the witnesses, must have been drawn up about the same time, Offa granted the land of sixty "manentes" at Westbury and twenty at Henbury to Worcester Cathedral, after the death of himself and his son Ecgfrid.⁵ It is to be noted that the name of Heathored, Bishop of Worcester, does not occur among the witnesses of the grant to Æthelmund; probably, it was represented to Offa that the land which he had granted to Æthelmund was church land, and, therefore, he granted it to Worcester

¹ C.S., 231.

³ C.S., 269.

² C.S., 75.

⁴ C.S., 274.

⁵ C.S., 272, 278. By a manifest error in 272 only ten mansiones are attributed to Henbury.

Cathedral after the death of himself and his son Ecgfrid; expecting, no doubt, that Ecgfrid would survive Æthelmund. Inasmuch, however, as there is no limitation in the grant to Æthelmund, the two documents are really conflicting.

Offa died on 29 July, 796 and Ecgfrid also died before the end of the year. Æthelmund, who was Ealdorman of the Huiccians was slain in an expedition across the West-Saxon border at Kempsford on the day of Egbert's accession in 800, and his widow Ciolburga was provided for by an appointment to the office of Abbess of Berkeley, which she held until her death in 805.

In a disposition of his property, made at a Synod held at Acle in 804,¹ Æthelric the son of Æthelmund, relates that he had been summoned to a Synod at Cloveshoe to produce his title-deeds to the land at Westbury, and that Archbishop Æthelhard, in the presence of King Kenulf and his nobles, had declared in full Synod that he was free to dispose of his land and title-deeds as he would. This probably took place at the Synod held at Cloveshoe in 798. No doubt Æthelric's right to the land was challenged by the Worcester Clergy, and Offa's unconditional grant to Æthelmund was held to prevail over the reversionary grant to the Cathedral. Æthelric goes on to relate that after vindicating his right to the property, he committed it to the care of his friends and went on pilgrimage to St. Peter and St. Paul, that is to Rome. When he returned from Rome he resumed possession, and after a few years he declared in the Synod at Acle how he would dispose of his property. After bequests to Deerhurst, on condition that he was buried there, to the Cathedral at Worcester, and to the Abbey at Gloucester, he left his land "æt Westmynster & æt Stoce" to his mother Ciolburga for her life with reversion to the Church of Worcester, in order that she might have while she lived protection and defence against the contention of the Berkeley people. This disposition had, of course, the nature of a compromise. Æthelmund his widow and his son would enjoy the estate for their lives, and then it would revert to Worcester.

¹ C.S., 313, 314.

In the *Chronicles* the death of Abbess Ciolburg is recorded as occurring in the year 805 ; probably, therefore, she had been appointed to the Abbacy soon after the death of Æthelmund in 800, certainly before the decree of the Synod of Cloveshoe in October, 803, by which the election of secular persons as heads of religious houses was forbidden. Evidently her rule was a troubled one, though there is nothing to shew precisely the nature of the contention which arose. Nothing more is heard of the property at Westbury until 824, when at another Synod at Cloveshoe a dispute was settled between the Cathedral at Worcester and the Monastery at Berkeley with regard to the ownership of the property. The cause of the dispute is quite uncertain, though it may very well be that on the death of Æthelric the family at Berkeley set up a claim to the property on the ground that Ciolburg being an Abbess could not hold any private property, and that, therefore, on her death all her possessions would remain with the monastery over which she presided. Æthelric, however, had been careful to deposit a copy of his disposition of 804 at Worcester, showing that the grant to his mother was only for her life, and when twenty years later the bishop produced his deeds, the estate was, by the unanimous vote of the Synod, adjudged to belong to the See. That the matter was regarded as an extremely important one is shewn by the fact that at the final settlement at Westbury there was the largest gathering of clergy on record in Anglo-Saxon times, no fewer than two hundred-and-ten priests, and ten deacons being present.¹ The large number proves that, at any rate, in a district where there was a considerable number of monasteries the supply of clergy was amply sufficient for the population.

It will be noticed that Æthelric left to his mother if she survived him both Westbury and Stoke, but that in 824 the Bishop of Worcester only claimed Westbury, which was duly adjudged to him by the Synod of Cloveshoe, leaving Stoke in the hands of the family at Berkeley, who retained it for sixty years longer. The Bishops of Worcester, however, did not lose sight of their claim, and in 883 the matter was settled by

¹ C.S., 379.

Æthelred Ealdorman of the Mercians, who married Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, the daughter of King Alfred.¹ On the petition of the family at Berkeley, and in consideration of their giving up into his hands the twelve hides at Stoke, and paying to him thirty mancuses of gold, he freed all their estates from royal dues and taxes, except the inevitable three. Then on payment of sixty mancuses of pure gold he leased the land at Stoke to Cynulf for three lives, to revert on the termination of the lease to Worcester. Thus the family at Berkeley obtained a remission of taxation, ninety mancuses of gold passed into the royal treasury, and the cathedral was assured of the land at Stoke Bishop.

It would seem probable, however, that even then the Cathedral did not obtain the whole of the property in dispute. For there are patches of territory near Westbury which are to this day in Berkeley Hundred—Almondsbury, Elberton, Filton, Horfield, and Kingsweston—and which are very probably fragments of Æthelric's inheritance, for if the number of hides attributed to them in Domesday be added to the hides attributed to Westbury, Henbury, and their dependencies, the sum is ninety-eight hides and three virgates, a total very closely coincident with the ninety-five "manentes" mentioned in Offa's grants.

Ealdorman Æthelred's award is very interesting, because it gives the boundaries of "Stoc," which thus passed from the possession of Berkeley Minster to the Cathedral at Worcester, shewing that it included the two tithings of Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton.

The boundaries are thus given:—

From Hæslwell to Hæsldene;
 Then from Hæsldene to Waldeswell;
 From Waldeswell to Sweordes Stone;
 „ Sweordes Stone to Eowcumbe;
 „ Eowcumbe to Avon Stream;
 „ Avon Stream again up to Hricgleage;
 „ Hricgleage to Penpau;

¹ C.S., 551.

- From Penpau to Severn Stream ;
„ Hæslwell again to the Lead-diggings ;
„ the Lead-diggings to the Mill Pool ;
„ the Mill Pool to Avon Stream.

Hazle Well was the source of the stream near Springfield ; and the boundaries are in three parts, the first marking the southern limit of Stoke Bishop tithing, where it joins Bristol and Clifton ; the next running down the Avon on the west of the tithing to Sea Mills, and then crossing Shirehampton Park and passing by Penpole across the marsh to the Severn to mark the eastern limit of Shirehampton tithing ; and finally the line starts again from Springfield to the deep pits on Durdham Down at the top of Parry's Lane, which are, no doubt, old Lead-diggings ; thence along the lane to Clack Mill, the Mill Pool of the boundaries, and thence along the Trym to the Avon, to mark the northern boundary of Stoke Bishop tithing.

With the exception of Sweordes Stone, all the points mentioned can be identified with very fair certainty, Waldeswell being very probably Mother Pugsley's Well on Kingsdown, and Eewcumbe the gully on Durdham Down.

It is interesting to note that lead was dug on Durdham Down more than a thousand years ago, and also that the northern boundary of the territory, which included what is now the site of Bristol, was much the same then as now, though, no doubt, it was at that time covered by dense forest.

The effect of the decision of the Council of Cloveshoe and of Ealdorman Ethelred's award would have been that the two estates of Westbury and Stoke—that is to say the present tithings of Westbury-on-Trym, Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton—would have become the property of the Cathedral at Worcester, and that the Church of Westbury would have become a dependency of the Cathedral, just as the old Monasteries of Bredon and Cleeve became dependent churches.

And we cannot doubt that the minster at Westbury would have shared in the general decay of the monastic system. King Alfred in the introduction to his translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care, says that even before the land was ravaged by the Danes, the churches throughout all England stood filled

with treasures and books, and also with a great multitude of the servants of God; but that they knew very little use of the books, because they could not understand anything. The monastic life, moreover, had fallen into disrepute, so that even King Alfred found it difficult to obtain inmates for his monasteries, and was compelled to bring in scholars from abroad. It is true that Worcester, under its Bishop Werefrith, seems to have been the centre of the little learning that remained, but Westbury lay in a remote forest district, and even if the service was maintained, little more can have been possible. Moreover, as the Danes plundered the district in the autumn of 877, on their way from Exeter to Gloucester, and it was again ravaged by a host from Brittany in 910, it is scarcely possible that the minster at Westbury can have escaped destruction.

In 961, Oswald became Bishop of Worcester; like his uncle Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, he had served as a monk at Fleury, and like Ethelwold, who two years after became Bishop of Winchester, he determined to introduce the Benedictine system into the monasteries of his diocese. There was plenty of opportunity; no diocese in England contained more wealthy and famous houses than did that of Worcester. But Oswald knew very well that the introduction of so severe a system would meet with sharp resistance from the clerks, who then led an easy life within the walls of the minsters. Therefore, he made no attempt to introduce this system, either into the Cathedral or into any of the larger monasteries, but he planted the first purely Benedictine settlement in England in the Church at Westbury, where, no doubt, the religious life was almost, if not quite, extinct. No doubt, he intended to shew by a living and working example what the Benedictine system was, and then to introduce it gradually, as opportunity offered, into other churches when people were convinced of its superiority.

The settlement at Westbury seems to have been one of the first acts of Oswald's episcopate. Very many faithful clerks came to place themselves under his discipline, so that in a few months the little company exceeded the sacred number of the Apostolate. These he placed under the care

of Eadnoth, and he summoned Germanus, who had, like himself, gone from Winchester to Fleury to assist in the charge. Oswald made no attempt to hurry matters, and though the Benedictine system spread apace in Wessex and East Anglia, for nearly ten years it was confined in Mercia to the remote valley of Westbury-on-Trym, whither he would retire from time to time for rest and refreshment. King Edgar was so much pleased with Oswald's work that he ordered more than forty monasteries to be established on the model of the one at Westbury; and finally in 969, by the direction of the King, the Cathedral and the Monasteries of Evesham, Pershore, Winchcombe and Deerhurst became Benedictine, Winchcombe being placed under the care of Germanus. The School of Benedictines at Westbury had done its work; in 974 the brethren seem to have been removed in a body to the newly-founded minster at Ramsey, and the church soon sank into obscurity, though it should ever be remembered that the monastic system which ruled in the mother church of the diocese, at Glastonbury the oldest and greatest of English minsters, and at Canterbury the mother church of all the English, found its first home in this land at Westbury-on-Trym.

Nothing more is heard of the monastery at Westbury for more than a century. It is not mentioned in Domesday Book; another proof, if any were required, that the Survey was not intended to be a register of churches or priests, and that any conclusions drawn from insertions or omissions of notices of that kind will be misleading as being based on imperfect evidence. Ægelred, however, who was Prior of Worcester about 1090, gives an account of the way in which St. Wulfstan attained to the Bishopric of Worcester. Among the Bishop's good deeds, it is said that he obtained from King William, among other properties, "the Minster at Westbury in Gloucestershire. That Minster St. Oswald formerly set up, and endowed it with lands, and placed monks there; but after his decease it was utterly laid waste by wicked men and vikings, so that there was no more than a single priest, and he seldom sang Mass there. But after the worshipful Bishop Wulfstan succeeded to the bishopric he set it up again, and endowed it with vestments and land, and

committed it to St. Mary's Minster,¹ and placed monks there, as many as it would maintain, till such time as God may yet add to it, according as His will may be."²

From this it would seem that Westbury had been plundered by the Danes and wasted by evil-doers, that at length it had fallen into the hands of the King, and had been restored to the See of Worcester at some time between 1066 and the compilation of Domesday Book in 1087. It would seem that St. Wulfstan intended that Westbury should be an independent church as soon as it could stand alone, and that it was only committed to the Cathedral at Worcester until that time should come.

The deed by which St. Wulfstan re-endowed the Church is still extant, and is dated on the nativity of the Blessed Virgin (September 8th) 1093, being the thirty-first anniversary of his consecration to the See of Worcester in York Minster by Archbishop Ealdred, who afterwards crowned King Harold and William.³ He relates that he was careful to repair the church which had formerly been built by St. Oswald, but which had been wasted by pirates, and destroyed by age and neglect of the "propositi." Though the words used by Wulfstan are "studui reparare," it is not probable that any part of Oswald's Church can now be seen; the round pillars of the nave, however, are most likely a part of St. Wulfstan's work, as they very much resemble in style the pillars in the Naves at Gloucester and Tewkesbury, which were erected about that time. Yet, as St. Wulfstan says, he "restored" St. Oswald's Church, and the pillars of the Nave are probably of his date, there is good reason for believing that the ancient church stood on the site of the present Nave. The Church lands, which had been stolen, he recovered partly by process of law, partly by purchase, and restored them to the Church; that is to say two and a half hides of land in Westbury, part of which land was even included in the precincts of the Minster, seven acres of land to the east of the Minster, part also of the little wood *Æscgraf*, and twelve acres of meadow. In Henbury also, and in Charlton and in

¹ At Worcester.

³ Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, 442.

² Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, 447.

Wick two hides and a half and twenty-eight acres of land; the churches also of Henbury and Stoke, with all tithes, both of fruits and flocks and herds, the whole being free from all service either to King or Bishop, as they had been ever of old. In Berwick also a hide and a half, and in Hæseldene one virgate, free of all service except to the King. Berwick lies in Henbury Marsh, and Hæseldene, as we have seen, lay to the south of Springfield.

The mention of a church at Stoke is remarkable. The estate of Stoke included in 883, as we learn from the award of Ealdorman Æthelred, the tithings of Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton, but as I cannot find any evidence that a church or chapel existed in early days in either of these places, it may be that reference is made to the Chapel of St. Werburgh, which is mentioned in a charter of Bishop Simon (1125—1151) as existing at that time.¹

St. Wulfstan would, no doubt, have resided at Westbury during the periods, extending sometimes over two months at a time, when he preached every Sunday in Bristol against the cruel system of selling English men and women into foreign slavery in Ireland, which was then carried on by the traders of that place. We are told that his efforts were so successful that the traders quite gave up their inhuman traffic, and drove one who afterwards attempted to revive it, from their town with the loss of his eyes.

There can be little doubt that the revival of the monastery at Westbury was a consequence of the rise and growth of the prosperity of Bristol. There is no evidence of the existence of the town much before the eleventh century. The name is first found on coins of Æthelred the Unready, and the place is first mentioned in 1052, as the point from which Harold made his escape to Ireland. It was obviously desirable that the Bishop of Worcester should possess a church and residence near the thriving town which was growing upon the edge of his diocese, and which before long became the headquarters of the Empress Maud in her contest with Stephen.

¹ Capelle Sancte Werburghe super montem Hemburie sita.

So it came to pass that for awhile the Church of Westbury, became independent of the Cathedral. St. Wulfstan died on January 18th, 1095, and was succeeded by Sampson, a brother of Thomas, Archbishop of York, who had been a Canon of Bayeux. He separated Westbury from obedience to the Cathedral Monastery, and placed Canons there in place of the Benedictine Monks. In doing this he was only doing much what others did about that time, for the tide of favour ran as strongly in the direction of Canons in the eleventh century as it had done in the direction of Benedictine Monks, a hundred years before. But it was not to be expected that the Benedictines would approve of the action of Bishop Sampson in ejecting men of their order and putting men of his own order in their place; and though Theulf, who like Sampson had been a Canon of Bayeux, left the Canons in independent possession of Westbury, Bishop Simon (1123—1151) restored the church to the possession of the Monks of Worcester. Bishop Sampson was nearly two centuries before his time.

Bristol continued to grow, till in 1341, the first year in which Professor Thorold Rogers could find trustworthy evidence with regard to the comparative wealth of different districts in England, the only towns which exceeded Bristol in wealth were London, Norwich, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, York coming next. London, Norwich and York were Cathedral Cities, and since 1248, at any rate, the Bishop of Durham had been patron and visitor of St. Edmund's Hospital at Gateshead, while in any case Newcastle was less than twenty miles from Durham. But until 1288 the Bishop of Worcester had no important Church or place of residence nearer to Bristol than Withington, about fifty miles away on the top of Cotswold. In 1453, when Bishop Carpenter was busy with the enlargement of the college at Westbury, Bristol was the fourth borough in England; London, Norwich and York exceeding it in value, Coventry coming next, and London being twelve times more wealthy than Bristol. All these boroughs, except Bristol, possessed their Cathedrals. Fifty years later Bristol ranked next to London, which was assessed at only $3\frac{1}{2}$ times over Bristol, but there had been a great conflagra-

tion in London in the same year. The cities of York and Lincoln came next to Bristol at that time.¹

Godfrey Giffard, who was consecrated to the See of Worcester at Canterbury, on 23rd September, 1268, proved to be an active and vigorous prelate. In 1278 he visited St. Augustine's Abbey, with results that are noted by most of the local historians. The convent seems to have been in utter disorder, and the good Bishop directed reforms of a most searching character. He visited it again two years later, and found a very much better condition of things. But it must have been evident to him that a thriving and growing town, with many parish churches, and abounding in religious houses, great and small, for men and women, for Benedictine Monks and Augustinian Canons, for Friars Dominican, Franciscan, Carmelite and Augustinian, and also with various hospitals of many kinds, would require constant supervision if ignorance and sloth, wickedness and lawlessness were to be kept in check and driven out. And no doubt a conviction of this kind was among the motives which led him to raise Westbury Church again from its position as a dependency of Worcester to one of independence, this time as a College of Secular Canons; that is to say, a Chapter under a Dean, like the Chapter of Bristol Cathedral now, except that as the Canons would have been unmarried there would have probably been more of a common life than is possible at present.

It was in 1288 that Bishop Godfrey Giffard founded his College of the Holy Trinity at Westbury-on-Trym, after overcoming much opposition on the part of the monks at Worcester. It was natural, of course, that regarding the matter only from their point of view they should oppose the foundation, for not only would the estate of Westbury cease to be a source of income to the Cathedral, but it was necessary also to make churches which had been dependencies of the Cathedral dependent on the College.

In the taxation of Pope Nicholas, made in 1291, that is to say, three years after the foundation of the College, its revenues are thus given:—

¹ *Three Centuries of Work and Wages*, Ed. 1884, p. 115.

Wygorn: Sp:

In Ecclia Westbur:

Prebend: Decani	...	...	10 . 6 . 8
Magri Riči de Vienna	...	...	6 . 13 . 4
Dñi Nichi de Wodeford	...	...	10 . 6 . 8
„ Petri de Leic'	...	...	6 . 13 . 4
Magri Robi de Wych	...	...	6 . 13 . 4
„ Johis de Bereford	...	...	6 . 13 . 4
Porcio' Vicar' in Ecclia de Honibur			18 . .
Capell' de Compton	...	...	2 . .

In all £66 . 16 . 8. It would seem therefore that Bishop Giffard's Foundation was for a Dean and five Canons, with an endowment that would produce at the present day an income of about £1,000.

It is probable that the arches above the Norman pillars in the nave, together with the sedilia and doorway in the south aisle and the windows at the west end of it, were added when the church was made Collegiate in 1288. It was as a canon on Bishop Giffard's Foundation that John Wycliffe was connected with the College of Westbury. The connection was, however, a very short one, the confirmation of his appointment to the Prebend of Aust (November 6th, 1375) being followed, within a fortnight, by the grant of the benefice to another person.¹ Wycliffe was at that time at the height of his influence, and had just returned from a mission to Bruges to confer with the representatives of the Pope on the subject of Papal "provisions."

The endowment of the College was obviously insufficient for the maintenance of a Dean and five Canons, but nothing seems to have been done to increase the revenues till the episcopate of John Carpenter, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, who was appointed to the See by a bull of Pope Eugenius IV, dated December 20th, 1443, on the translation of Bishop Bouchier to Ely, and was consecrated at Eton on March 22nd following.

Bishop Carpenter was a native of Westbury-on-Trym, and he seems to have lost little time in beginning to improve the

¹ *Encyc. Britt.*, Ed. IX, vol. xxiv, p. 709.

condition of the ancient church. In 1447, he pulled down the old college, and rebuilt it on a much larger scale, surrounding it with an embattled wall. The portions of the collegiate building which yet remain are, no doubt, part of Bishop Carpenter's work. But a more magnificent college would require larger endowments for its maintenance, and Bishop Carpenter also very largely increased the revenues of the house.

Part of this increased endowment he obtained from King Edward IV. Reginald de St. Waleric had given the manor of Elmunstree or Elmstree, in Tetbury, to the Abbey of St. Evroult at Ouche, in Normandy. In 1414 the possessions of alien religious houses were, on the petition of the Commons, taken in perpetuity into the King's hands, and on March 21st, 1464 Edward IV. granted the manor of Elmstree to the Dean and Chapter of Westbury, Henry Sampson being Dean at the time. And in the following year of his reign the King granted to the college the estates of the Lepers' Hospital of St. Lawrence, outside Lawford's Gate. Seventy years later the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* gave the value of the estates of the Lepers' Hospital as £16 annually, and it would probably have been about the same at the time of the grant.

Bishop Carpenter also succeeded in the attempt in which Bishop Giffard had failed—to secure the appropriation of the Rectory of Kemsey to Westbury College. The deed of appropriation is dated September 2nd, 1473, William Canynges being Dean at the time; and there can be no doubt that much of the large increase in the value of the property of the College—from £66 16s. 8d. in 1291 to £232 14s. at the Dissolution in 1544—was due to the exertions of Bishop Carpenter. The good Bishop resigned his See shortly before his death, which happened at Northwick in 1476, and he was buried on the south side of the chancel at Westbury. On the walls of the tomb were found, in 1852, a representation of his funeral procession,¹ and his figure stands in a niche on the West face of the tower.

He styled himself "Bishop of Worcester and Westbury," and

¹ Pryce, *The Canynges Family*, p. 167.

though the style has been regarded as a freak, or as a mere mark of regard for his native place and for the church of which he was so great a benefactor, more probably he chose it with the distinct purpose of providing for the diocese in which the great merchant borough of Bristol lay a throne in a Church near at hand. He tried to found a See for Bristol by endowing a church, as Henry VIII. actually did so by a sweeping measure of disendowment. There was nothing incongruous in joining the Canons' Church at Westbury with the Monks' Church of Worcester, for the Canons of Lichfield were coupled with the Monks of Coventry, and the Monks of Bath elected their Bishop on equal terms with the Canons of Wells. Bishop Carpenter seems to have been the first to make an effective effort to provide a See for Bristol, and it is a happy instance of the continuity of English history that the Bishop of Bristol will now find a home in the ancient parish of Westbury-on-Trym.

No doubt in this scheme he would have found a most efficient helper in William Canynges, who, as we have seen was Dean of Westbury in 1473. He had been five times Mayor of Bristol, and it is to him that we owe the Clerestory at St. Mary, Redcliff.

On September 19th, 1467, he was admitted to the order of Acolyte in the chapel of the College of Westbury, and after passing through the minor Orders he was ordained Priest on Easter Eve, April 16th, 1468, upon letters dimissory from the Bishop of Bath and Wells on the title of his patrimony, and on the same day he was collated to a Canonry in the Church of Westbury and the Prebend of Goderynghill or Wodeford. On June 3rd, 1469 the Bishop appointed him Dean of the Collegiate Church of Westbury, the office being vacant by the resignation of the late Dean Henry Sampson, who succeeded to the Prebend of Goderynghill. When Dean Canynges died, on November 17th, 1474, Bishop Carpenter appointed to the Deanery Master Robert Symbrygge, who had resigned the Prebend of Goderynghill before William Canynges was appointed in 1468.

The portions of the existing Church which date from the time of Bishop Carpenter are the tower, the side windows of the aisles, and the chancel, which is an addition on a scale relatively much larger than that of the older portions of the church, no doubt in

order to provide for the more elaborate services which the increased endowment would enable the Chapter to maintain. The south aisle of the chancel is known as Canynges' Chapel or Chantry, and no doubt the Dean, who had done so much in former years for St. Mary Redcliff, would have taken great interest in any building that yet remained to be completed when he entered on his office.

From the will of Dean Canynges, which was dated November 12th and proved November 29th, 1474, we learn something of the officials of the Church of Westbury at that time. He left the following legacies:—To each of the fellows of the Collegiate Church and College of Westbury vi^s viii^d, and to each Chaplain and Deacon of the same college v^s, on condition of their personal attendance at the obsequies and mass in the said church of Westbury, and afterwards conducting his body to the Church of Redcliff, to the place of burial. To William Clerk, water-bearer of Westbury, iii^s iv^d on the same condition. To each of the twelve chorister boys of Westbury viii^d on the same condition. To the six priests of the New Chapel, lately founded in Westbury by the Venerable Father in Christ and Lord John Bishop of Worcester iii^s iv^d each to pray for testator's soul. To each of the six poor almsmen of Westbury, lately founded by the said Lord Bishop, xii^d. To each of the six poor widows of Westbury, lately founded by the same, xii^d. To the fabric of the Church of Westbury, xl^s. Legacies were left to James Cooke and John Boriet, servants of the College of Westbury. Master Philip Hyette, Sub-dean of the Collegiate Church of Westbury, was one of the witnesses of the will.

In the next sixty years the Church of Westbury was apparently prosperous, at any rate it is happy in having no recorded history.

On March 31st, 1534, the clergy of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury resolved that "the Pope of Rome has no greater jurisdiction conferred upon him by God in Holy Scripture in this Kingdom of England than any other Bishop," and the Convocation of York gave their unanimous consent to the same conclusion in May of the same year. The renunciation of papal authority by the various religious bodies was soon generally made, and many of the deeds of acknowledgment

of the king's supremacy are still extant. Among them is that of the Dean and Chapter of Westbury, which is dated September 7th, 1534, and which bears the following signatures:—

Johannes Barlo Decanus.
 Johannes Farnwell Clericus.
 Johannes Bradley „
 Thomas Sargeant „
 Robertes Whetacre & 6

Sealed with red wax.¹

As the yearly value of the estates exceeded £200, the house was not suppressed in 1535, but in 1539, another Act was passed empowering the heads of Religious Houses to surrender them into the king's hands, and on February 8th, 1544, Westbury College ceased to exist. The deed of surrender will be found in Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. xv, pp. 12-14.

With regard to the dedication of the church, we find it described as the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, of St. Mary, and of the Holy Trinity; and these various dedications mark the different stages in its history. All the earlier Huiccoian churches were dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, probably because that was the dedication of Whitby Abbey, where the earliest Bishops of Worcester were trained. It was so at Worcester, Bath, Gloucester and Bredon, and, no doubt, it was also thus at Westbury. When St. Oswald introduced the Benedictine system into the Huiccoian churches, he called his reformed houses by the name of St. Mary. Bath and Gloucester retained their old dedications, the former, no doubt, because it received its Benedictinism from St. Ethelwold of Winchester and not from St. Oswald of Worcester, the latter because it did not become Benedictine till the time of Cnut. The Bishops of Worcester, Godfrey Giffard and John Carpenter, called their collegiate foundations by the name of the Holy Trinity.

Very little is known about the heads of the house until the time of Bishop Giffard's foundation. It is very likely that an Abbot whose name is given as Freothomund in the Act of the Council of Cloveshoe, which forbade the election of secular

¹ Rymer, *Fædera*, xv, 503.

persons as heads of monasteries on October 12th, 803, and as Friomund in the final settlement of the dispute relating to Ethelric's inheritance on September 30th, 824, was Abbot of Westbury; but of course when the Cathedral at Worcester took possession of the estates there would be no longer an independent head. When St. Oswald founded his Benedictine settlement at Westbury he placed it under the care of Eadnoth, and Germanus returned from Fleury to act as instructor. Both Eadnoth and Germanus were transferred to Ramsey, and Germanus became Abbot of Winchcombe, from which house he was driven with his monks by the Ealdorman Ælfhere, after the death of King Eadgar in 975. Eadnoth served as Abbot of Ramsey till 1006, when he was consecrated Bishop of Dorchester on the Thames. He met his death at the battle of Assandun in the autumn of 1016, the last great fight of the Danish wars, whither he had gone to pray and not to fight, and was laid to rest in the Abbey of Ely, more than half a century after he took charge of St. Oswald's settlement at Westbury.

After St. Oswald's Monks were removed to Ramsey, Westbury seems to have been treated as a mere estate of the Cathedral, and as St. Wulfstan did not make it an independent church, and as no names of Bishop Sampson's short-lived House of Canons are, as far as I know, preserved, we find no recorded head distinct from the Priors of Worcester until the time of the foundation of Bishop Godfrey Giffard's College of Canons, in 1288.

George Pryce gives, as from Tanner, a list of the Deans of the College of the Holy Trinity at Westbury¹:—

1290. Hugh de Carnaria.

Nicholas de York.

1323. Rulph de Lacu.

William Edington.

Possibly the one of that name, who became Prebendary of Leighton Manor at Lincoln Feb. 18th, 1342, and was Prebendary of Putston Major at Hereford in 1345, who was consecrated to the See of Winchester May 14, 1346, and after refusing the See of Canterbury on the death of Archbishop Islip, died October 14, 1366.

¹ *The Canynges Family and their Times*, p. 171.

1335. Adam de Aylington.
 1395. David Bracewell.
 Stephen Basset.
 1413. William Oxton.
 1414. John Arundel.
 John Powle.
 1425. John Lowsby.
 Richard Ellis.
 1444, March 22. John Carpenter, consecrated Bishop of
 Worcester.
 John Kemmes.
 1451. William Okeborn.
 John Blakman resigned.
 1458, Jan. 20. Henry Sampson, resigned 1469.
 1451, Sep. 11. Rector of Tredington, Worcestershire.
 1469, June 3. Canon of Goderynghill in Westbury.
 1482, Nov. 17. Died.
 Possibly the one of that name who was Principal of
 St. Mary Hall in 1438, and Provost of Oriel in
 1449, and who held the latter office at least
 until 1466.
 1469, June 3. William Canynges.
 1468, April 16. Canon of Goderynghill in Westbury.
 1474, Nov. 17. Died.
 1474, Dec. 5. Robert Slymbrigg.
 1467, Nov. 7. Canon of Goderynghill in Westbury.
 1468. Resigned this Canonry.
 1488 & 1495. Precentor of Lichfield.
 William Vaus.
 1472. (William Vauce) Precentor of Lichfield.
 1476, Nov. 16 (William Vauce), Prebendary of Pratum majus
 in Hereford.
 1478. Died.

It would seem that there had been an exchange of preferments between Robert Slymbrigg and William Vaus. On August 19th, 1469, Bishop Carpenter chose Robert Multon to be Prior of Worcester at Westbury in the presence of William Vauce or Vause, the Bishop's Chancellor, among others.

1479. John Lyndsey.
1488. Adam Redshelf.
in 1479. William Cretyng.
1488. Canon of Windsor.
1519. Died.

On December 21st, 1487, King Henry VII. granted to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, Robert Morton, Bishop of Worcester, and Edward Hampden, the patronage of a Canonry at Windsor, and renewed the grant on January 12th, 1488; William Cretyng was appointed.

John Barlow.

- 1534, Sep. 7. Acknowledged the King's supremacy.
1544, Feb. 8. Surrendered his house.
1541. Canon of Peterborough Cathedral, at its foundation; left before 1544.
1545. Canon of Bristol; deprived in 1553.
1547, Jan. 3. Prebendary of Moreton Parva in Hereford; a successor appointed August 31, 1554.
1547, Jan. 7. Precentor of Hereford; deprived in 1554.
in 1543. Archdeacon of Caermarthen; a successor appears in 1549.

It may be taken, perhaps, as fairly certain that the Canon of Bristol and Prebendary of Hereford was the former Dean of Westbury. Whether he was also Canon of Peterborough and Archdeacon of Caermarthen is more doubtful, as those appointments date before the surrender of his house. After that event it would be to the interest of the King to give or procure him preferment in order to save his pension in whole or in part. From the fact that he held his new preferments through the reign of Edward VI. and was deprived after the accession of Queen Mary, it may be concluded that he accepted the Reformation.

In the above list the preferments, other than the Deanery of Westbury, are taken from Hardy's edition of Le Neve's *Fasti*, and certain dates connected with the names of Henry Sampson, William Canynges, Robert Slymbrigg and William Vaus, are

42 *Church and Monastery, Westbury-on-Trym.*

taken from the Rev. T. P. Wadley's *Notes on the Wills in the Council House at Bristol*, published by the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, pp. 153-155. It will be seen that while, with the possible exception of William Edyngton, none of the Deans on Bishop Giffard's foundation can be otherwise recognised, after Bishop Carpenter's re-endowment the Deans were generally men of position and influence.

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1536, eight years before the surrender, the following are the names of those then on the foundation :—

	£	s.	d.
John Barlo, Dean	61	16	8
John Bell, Thomas Barlo, Rad: Hopwood, W ^m Burley, Thomas Wathell, clerks each £2	10	.	.
Ludovic Jonys, Subdeacon ...	10	.	.
John Golde, Podidasculus... ..	10	.	.
Walter Colyns, Chaplain	8	.	.
John Farnwell, John Colyar, Richard Hussey, Henry ap John, John Bradeley, Richard Dean, John Styllard, John Sellman, each £7 . 6 ^s . 8 ^d ...	58	13	4
John Milton, Richard Ellysworth, Richard Wood, clicos conduct: each £6 ...	18	.	.
Alexander Bosgrove, Richard Cooke, John Fynett, Walter Garrett, John Arnold, George Jonson, aged priests on the foundation of the College, each £4 . 13 ^s . 4 ^d ...	28	.	.
12 Choristers at £2 . 3 ^s . 4 ^d ...	26	.	.
6 poor men at 1 . 10 ^s . 4 ^d ...	9	.	2
6 poor widows at 1 . 10 ^s . 4 ^d ...	9	.	2

There are also payments for occasional gifts to the aged priests and the poor people, and for washing the vestments.

A comparison of this list with the legacies left by Dean Canynges some sixty years before, shews that the foundation, as arranged by Bishop Carpenter, remained practically unaltered till the dissolution of the House.

Aust and St. Austin.

BY REV. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., VICAR OF BANWELL.

(Read September 28th, 1897.)

Much has been said and written at many times, but especially last year, about the locality of the spot where St. Augustine of Canterbury met the British Bishops; but really all the information of primary importance is contained in the extracts from ancient documents given below.

Grant by Æthelred, King of the Mercians, to Oftfor, Bishop of Worcester, c. 691.

"Ego ÆTHELRED Christo donante Rex Mercensium pro absolutione criminum meorum, et pro amore Dei viventis, terram qui vetusto vocabulo nuncupatur HEANBURG et in alio loco ÆT-AUSTIN hoc est circiter in illis duobus locis xxx cassatorum OTTFORO meo venerabili episcopo in propriam possessionem tradidi."¹

The Venerable Bede, c. 731. *Hist. Eccl.* ii, 2.

"Interea Augustinus adiutorio usus Ædilbereti regis, convocavit ad suum colloquium episcopos sive doctores proximæ Brittorum provinciæ, in loco qui usque hodie lingua Anglorum AUGUSTINÆS AC, id est, ROBUR AUGUSTINI, in confinio Huicciorum et Occidentalium Saxonum, appellatur."

Old English paraphrase of Bede's *History*, c. 890.

"On thære stowe the mon nemnath AUGUSTINUS AC on Huicna gemære & West Sexna."

"At the place which men call *Augustine's Oak* on the borders of the Huiccians and the West Saxons."

¹ MS. *Harl.*, 4660, f. 1.

Confirmation by Offa, King of the Mercians, to the See of Worcester, of land at Aust, 794.

"Contigit autem in diebus OFFANI regis Merciorum quod Bynna comes regis sustulit sine recte hanc terram æt AUSTAN v. manentes"—and at a Synod at Cloveshoe it was adjudged to belong to the See of Worcester.

Grant by King Æthelstan of land at Aust to the Church of St. Mary at Worcester, 929.

"Ego ÆTHELSTANUS regnum totius Albionis Deo auctore dispensans compunctus quandam terræ particulam in loco qui ab indigenis æt AUSTAN nuncupatur vocabulo ad æcclesiam beatæ Dei genetricis Mariæ quæ est in Wigorna civitate sita ad piscium videlicet utilitatem capiendorum animo concedo benivolo."

The meeting or meetings took place in 602 or 603. The grant from King Æthelred to Bishop Offor is contained in a collection of copies of charters in the Worcester Archives, most probably by Hickes about 1700; he was an antiquary of high repute, and there is no real ground for doubting the document, which was accepted by Kemble.

The oldest manuscript of Bede's *History* dates from within a few years of the author's death in 735; so that two of the documents quoted may be traced back to within one hundred and fifty years of St. Augustine's death. The Old English paraphrase of Bede's *History* was made by the direction of King Alfred about 890; and the two documents in which Aust is called Austan was first found in *Heming's Cartulary*, a collection of charters which was made by Heming, a monk of Worcester, in the time of St. Wulfstan who held the See 1062—1095. In *Domesday* Aust appeared as *Austre-clive*. It may be added that in a late Glastonbury document it is stated that King Æthelred gave six hides at *Austanclif* to that monastery.¹ But this is not an authority equal to those mentioned above.

The *locus classicus* is of course the passage in Bede, which

¹ Dugdale *Monasticum*, i, 24.

fixes the site of Augustine's Oak "*in confinio Huicciorum et Occidentalium Saxonum*"—on the boundary of the Huiccians and West Saxons. Probably, however, we ought not to press the expression "*in confinio*" too closely. Bede was a Northumbrian, who had almost certainly never been south of Humber, and most likely he obtained his information concerning St. Augustine's mission from the Canterbury clergy, who may not have been very well acquainted with the geography of what is now Gloucestershire. And even to-day if the question were asked in Northumberland—"Where is Aust?"—the reply, "near Bristol," would be sufficiently accurate, and indeed the best that could be given.

In St. Augustine's time there was no distinction between Huiccians and West Saxons, for the Huiccians were simply those West Saxons, who, after winning the battles of Dyrham and Fethanleah, had over-run what is now the south-west of Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire east of Severn, and had been subsequently taken by Penda into the Mercian realm. But in Bede's time Bath, Tetbury, Cirencester, and Kempsford belonged to the Huiccians, while Bradford-on-Avon, Malmesbury, and Ashdown near Wanborough, belonged to the West Saxons, the boundary being almost precisely that which now separates between Gloucestershire on the north and Wilts and Somerset on the south.

The shortest way from Canterbury to the southern part of the Huiccian realm would be through London and Silchester to Speen; there the road forked, one branch running nearly due west to Bath, and then across Severn to Caerleon, the other running north-west through Cirencester to Gloucester. If St. Augustine took the latter road he would have crossed the boundary between the Huiccians and West Saxons near Cirencester, if he went by the southern road any point between Bath and the Severn shore would lie near to the boundary. In choosing between the roads we have only probability to guide us. And probability points very strongly to the southern road. To reach Cirencester the Welsh Bishops would have had to pass for nearly twenty miles over Cotswold from Gloucester, that is to say,

they would have had to traverse that distance of territory belonging to people who must have seemed to them savage heathens, who had driven the Christians out of the district only about a quarter of a century before. There is no reason at all for supposing that the Welsh Bishops would have been willing to do this. They do not seem to have wished to meet St. Augustine, but rather the contrary, and Ethelbert had no power at all to compel them to come.

On the other hand the southern road ran along the boundary between the two realms till it reached the water of Severn, on the other side of which the country was still in the possession of the Welsh. Moreover, the Welsh tradition places the point of meeting on the banks of Severn in the Forest of Dean,¹ and any spot which is to satisfy both traditions fairly well must be near Avonmouth and not far from the southern part of Dean Forest. Bede says that the place of meeting was in his day still called Augustine's Oak, and we find that about ninety years after Augustine's visit and some forty years before Bede wrote, King Æthelred granted land *ÆT AUSTIN* to the See of Worcester, which land by a series of charters is identified with Aust, a place lying about eight miles north of Avonmouth where lay the boundary between the Huiccians and West Saxons, and on the eastern side of a very ancient passage across the Severn to the Forest of Dean; that is to say, we can trace the name *Aust* back to the life-time of Bede, and we find it applied to a spot, which as nearly as possible complies both with the Welsh and English indications of the place of meeting. It may be true to say that the evidence now available does not prove that the conference took place at Aust—that is a matter of opinion; it is certainly true to say that no other spot can put forward anything like so good a claim.

Again, the Old English forms of the name *Austin* and *Austan* deserve careful notice. *Trajectus Augusti* is sometimes given as the derivation of the name *Aust*.¹ But the final syllable of the Old English name asserts itself; if there is to be

¹ *Haddan and Stubbs*, iii, 41.

a Latin derivation at all it must be the passage of Augustinus rather than of Augustus, and it will commemorate rather the name of the Roman missionary than the title of the Roman emperors.

The question of the manner in which the tradition of the identity of the place of meeting was preserved is not so difficult as it might seem at first.

The meeting took place in 602 or 603, and the Chronicles relate that the Mercians became Christians on the death of Penda in 655; but if the Huiccians were not incorporated into Mercia till after the expulsion of Kenwalch in 645, the knowledge of the Gospel might spread among them after the Baptism of Cynegils and Crichelm in 635 and 636, only a generation after St. Augustine met the Welsh clergy. In any case, of course, the knowledge of the place of meeting would be kept alive among the Welsh west of Severn, and also no doubt among such Welsh Christians as were permitted to remain alive among the West Saxons.

The purpose of the present note is merely to summarise the evidence that still remains with regard to the locality of the place of meeting; it is but a short note, for to indulge in general comments would simply be to darken counsel by words without knowledge.

Vanishing Bristol.

A plea for the more careful recording of existing relics
of old Domestic Architecture in Bristol.

BY JOHN E. PRITCHARD.

(Read November 24th, 1897.)

Now that Bristol—through the recent extension of her boundaries—claims the seventh place in order of importance amongst English cities, and the policy determined upon by the citizens is a progressive one, should we not be more than ever watchful lest the few remaining examples of Early Domestic Architecture yet in our midst be taken by stealth? Possibly even *another ecclesiastical edifice*¹ may be required for the great commercial progress anticipated; but we may, however, be sure that the Bristol Streets Improvement Committee will never consult us before issuing their edicts; and, depend upon it, there are many changes pending, which will be carried out in the immediate future, and without much warning.

The constant sweeping away of curious relics of bye-gone times has been allowed to pass, almost unheeded, until now—when most of the finest specimens of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have disappeared—a Society known as the “Photographic Survey of Gloucestershire” has come into existence, though, as to Bristol itself, it has not yet commenced operations.

Mr. Latimer's *Annals of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* simply teem with references to buildings which have been pulled down or burnt, and of many of which no details or sketches have been handed down to us. During the

¹ St. Werburgh's church, Corn Street, with its beautiful fifteenth century tower, was pulled down for city improvements in 1878.

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PLATE III.—THE PITHAY, BRISTOL.

Victorian era, particularly, an extraordinary number of examples have gone.

Amongst old hostelries, a fine sixteenth century house, known as the "Giants' Castle" Inn, was destroyed through the erection of St. Philip's Bridge in 1838.

One of the oldest buildings in Castle Street, the "Old Castle" Tavern, chiefly constructed of wood, was destroyed by fire in 1843. In order to obtain a site for Finzel's Sugar Refinery, the "Fourteen Stars,"¹ one of the oldest, and certainly one of the finest overhanging gabled dwellings, was pulled down in 1857.

The "Bush" Tavern, opposite the Exchange, ceased to exist in 1854. This was a noted coaching house, immortalised by Dickens, and from the balcony of which Edmund Burke is said to have delivered many of his speeches to the electors of this city.

The widening of Nicholas Street, in 1864, necessitated the removal of a most picturesque house in High Street, known as the "Angel" Inn, a fifteenth century building; owing to its demolition the adjoining house, a building of about the same age collapsed, and had to be removed.

One of the few old hostelries built in the fourteenth century, with an open courtyard, and constructed with galleries round three sides, known as the "Red Lion" Inn, Redcliff Street, was taken down in 1864, and warehouses now occupy the site.

Then also the "White Hart" and the "White Lion," adjoining each other, two well-known and distinctly quaint inns in Broad Street, probably of sixteenth century erection, were demolished in 1865, to create a site for the large new house, first styled the "White Lion," and latterly the "Grand" Hotel.

"What the Bristolians were pleased to term their *Broad Street*," wrote a visitor to this city some twenty years since, "used to be a particularly *narrow* one, and it cannot boast

¹ One of the carved oak brackets is preserved in the City Museum.

of being very wide now. However, there was room enough for one of the most remarkable coaching houses in England, and it was kept by a very remarkable man, Isaac Niblett. The 'White Lion' behaved itself with kingly courtesy towards its next-door neighbour, the 'White Hart,' both of which are dead and buried now, and on their remains has risen up an extensive establishment with the high-sounding title of 'The Grand.' Good as it may be, travellers of the old school will fail to discover that good old port-wine-like look, with a suggestiveness of turtle, venison and barons of beef, that surrounded the style of the old-fashioned building; and, as an elderly cabby said to us the other day when driving through Broad Street, 'Lor', sir, if old Mr. Niblett could look up from his grave, and see all them steps to go up to the door, and all them shops underneath *instead of his old gateway*, he'd just about faint, that's wot he would!'"

Another interesting house, the "King David" Inn, standing on the site of St. Mary Magdalen's Nunnery, at the bottom of St. Michael's Hill, was demolished in 1892, to make room for a new structure, styled the "King David" Hotel. This was a fine old hostelry, possessing an unique Jacobean club room, surrounded by carved oak panelling; but none of the work was retained *in situ*.¹

Amongst the inns still left to us there are several of distinctly interesting styles. The "Rising Sun," a small, low structure in Castle Mill Street, retains many quaint mouldings, and possesses two interesting chimney-pieces, one of the reign of James I., dated 1606. The "Catherine Wheel," or, as it is now called, the "Cat and Wheel," is a seventeenth century overhanging, corner-house in Castle Green. The "Lamb," in West Street; the "Hatchet," in Frogmore Street; the "Llandoger Arms," in King Street, built in 1664; the "Shakespeare" Inn, Temple Street, and others, are all worth careful notice.

Of the private dwellings and shops, grand examples have disappeared from most of the streets in the heart of the city,

¹ See *Proceedings*, vol. ii., p. 264.

by destruction and rebuilding, owing to the increasing value of land, and that commercial prosperity which has compelled the change to more convenient premises. Such streets as Broad Street, High Street, Mary-le-port Street and Peter Street were, not long since, full of mediæval-looking houses. As a further example, compare Baldwin Street of to-day with its appearance at the beginning of this reign ; it was then full of striking examples of the old timber overhanging dwellings, whereas now it consists wholly of costly commercial erections, evidence, of course, of increasing greatness, for which, as Bristolians, we should be thankful. As a consolation, we can still hold to the *tradition* that Henry II. received his early education in that street, for, according to Hollinshed and Stow, the young Prince was in Bristol four years, being committed to one Matthew, a schoolmaster, to be instructed and trained up in civil behaviour. Seyer says that a house on the southern side of that street used, within memory, to be shewn as the place of his instruction.

Then Mr. Latimer tells us that during the summer of 1871, the ancient thoroughfare bearing the appropriate name of Steep Street, up and down which the Welsh mail once crawled on its to and fro journey, was entirely swept away by the Streets Improvement Committee. This street contained a notable seventeenth century building, known long as the "Ship" Inn.

These are a few instances of what have disappeared, and many others are known to everyone of us.

Though many of the old prints and sketches are unreliable, we can gather from them how charmingly picturesque Bristol was in the earlier days of its history ; and, if I may be allowed to suggest some definite and practical work, would it not be well if members of this Club could undertake to perambulate the old city, before it is too late, in order to record and illustrate what still remains, for there are yet many examples left to us, of which there are no printed records.

THE NOK.

But the nook to which I wish more particularly to refer,

comprises the cluster of houses that existed just outside the earlier, or inner, wall of the city, between the blind gate, at St. John's Steep, and Wine Street; dwellings that were built upon the slope of the hill that extended to the river From, which really constituted the line of the outer wall.

This district is said to have been anciently named Aylard's Street, after a Bristol family of the thirteenth century,¹ but it has been known to most of us, as well as to many generations past, as the Pithay, "puit-hey," or "well-close."

There is no evidence, from the earlier authorities, to show when this suburb sprung into existence, though Seyer thinks the site was probably first built upon before the thirteenth century; and although we only recognise the *sloping* street by this familiar name, at one time the Pithay included a larger district, and upon Mr. Latimer's testimony it must have been an important and "fashionable" suburb, for he humorously suggests that "It would require a vivid imagination on the part of anyone now traversing the Pithay and the sordid neighbouring thoroughfares lying between Broadmead and Tower Lane, to represent to himself the locality as a place of public recreation and fashionable resort. No more singular testimony of the local changes effected by time could well be adduced than is to be found in an advertisement published in the Bristol papers in May, 1810, announcing the sale of twenty-nine void old houses in the Pithay and Bowling-green, in the parish of Christ Church. Amongst the lots were "the timber and materials of the Old City Assembly Room, situated in the Bowling-green aforesaid," and "the timber and materials of the 'Old City Assembly Room' Tavern, in the same place."²

We also know that Edward Shaw, who held the living of Christ Church in 1618, had a rectory house in the Pithay granted to him, so that the neighbourhood was more than respectable in the seventeenth century. Notwithstanding, then, its great past, one frequently meets with those who have never diverged from the northern pathway in Wine Street for the

¹ Richard Aylard was mayor 1233-4 and 1247.

² *Annals of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 39-40.

fair district of those early days; the curious thoroughfare is unknown to many old Cliftonians, one of whom I met only the other day, just as I was emerging from that still picturesque haunt, somewhat too harshly described by John Taylor as "a sort of local Seven Dials," where "a curious rag-fair assemblage of shops is to be seen by a venturesome eye."

This fancy picture has doubtless deterred many, including the individual referred to, from viewing in its entirety what is now, through the march of commerce, lost to us for ever.

The *Bristol Poll-Book* of 1812, which is the earliest to record the addresses of electors, enumerates, in the Pithay, an unusual number of respectable traders, for the size of that locality. There, in that year, were one baker and four taylors; one currier and one felt-maker; one hooper and three cordwainers; one broker and one pewterer; a stationer, bookbinder, and, of course, a jeweller; but of late years most of the dwellings have been occupied by those who have offered "lodgings for travellers."

Whatever the district has been, the Pithay, as we have known it—a charmingly picturesque nook, just off Wine Street—is now practically a thing of the past.

At the beginning of this year the Pithay stood intact: an edict was issued, and to-day there is a great blank on the southern side, where five of the sixteenth century gabled dwellings once stood.

There was nothing of singular interest in the exterior of the buildings themselves, except perhaps their quaintness; and as to the interiors, the only features worth recording were some seventeenth century ceiling mouldings—one representing "David playing upon the harp," enclosed in an oval wreath of flowers and fruit, with cherub ornamentation in the corners; the others corresponding with the usual art of the period.

Below these houses the old "Friendship" Inn at present stands, but the "Blue Bowl" has disappeared long since, and at the foot of the declivity may still be seen the first Baptist Chapel erected in Bristol, and quickly recognised by the name-stone over the entrance, "Baptist Meeting 1653."

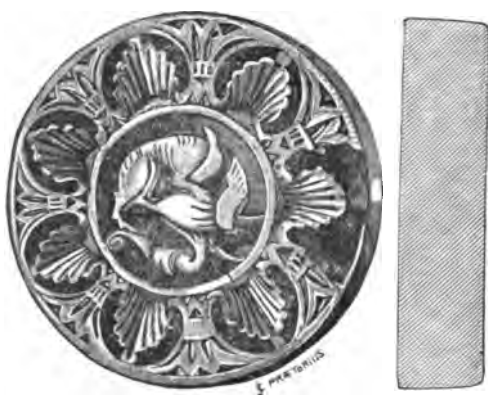
But the work carried on there was transferred elsewhere many years ago, and the building has since been used for business purposes. Facing Wine Street, at the top of the slope on the northern side, the shell of a handsome gabled mansion yet exists; it bears a shield in front, carrying the arms of the Brewer's Company,¹ surmounted by the remains of an ancient sun-dial—all proof of former greatness.

This house has been void and silently waiting its doom for an unusually long period; but when the supports to the adjoining property, which is almost immediately to be rebuilt, are taken away, the crisis in its history will have arrived.

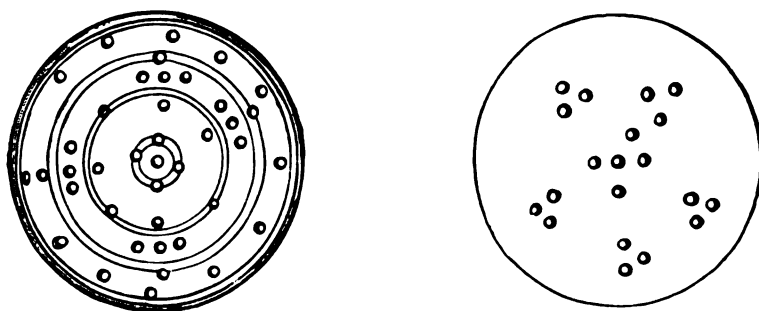
In his "Itinerary," William Wyrcestre gives an account of the "Pyttey" as it appeared at the end of the fifteenth century, when it was enclosed, and had two gates, the lower called "Pyttey-yate" being ten yards from the bridge across the river Frome. This gate, which defended the Pithay during the wars of Charles I., and was mounted with two pieces of cannon, was demolished in 1764. (Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 239.)

There was also a celebrated well in the Pithay, described by Wyrcestre (Dallaway's edition, p. 68). "In Pyttey-strete infra Aylward-yate sive Pyttey-yate prope ibidem in magno spacio, veluti locus trianguli est fons ampla et profunda cum frestone bene circumdata et alta pro hominibus hauriendo aquam fontanam, et dicta fons bene tegulata desuper ad custodiendum homines aquam haurientes de pluvia seu procellis; et sunt in boriali parte viæ Pittey 2 cellaria." The degenerate successor of this doubtless picturesque structure with its carved freestone and tiled penthouse above, the much abused "Wine Street pump," has only recently disappeared.

¹ See *Proceedings*, vol. iii., p. 75. Since this paper was read the house has been pulled down, but the arms have been saved, and are now located in the Bristol Museum.



1.—IVORY DRAUGHTSMAN OF 12TH CENTURY.



2.—IVORY POMANDER, FOUND IN BRISTOL.

APPENDIX.

SOME LOCAL FINDS IN 1897.

During the demolition in January and February of the two corner houses in Wine Street and the gabled dwellings in the Pithay adjoining, in the rear, to which I have referred, some interesting relics were discovered. Two of these are carved ivories of special interest, and may be described as follows:—(1) A Carved Draughtsman of walrus ivory, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter by $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick; the centre representing a monster attacking a bird, within a border of arcading and leaves. From Northern Europe. Date about twelfth century. (See illustration.) In Mr. Ruskin's *Val d'Arno*, plate iv., there is an illuminated letter with something of this style of ornament. (2) A Pomander, of elephant-tusk ivory, containing five tiny glass bottles for scents or essences, sunk in holes; there is also a hole for a sixth bottle. Date, early seventeenth century. (See illustration.)

Mr. Skinner informs me that in the South Kensington Museum, amongst other Pomanders, there is one from Holland bearing the following abbreviations for the scents which it is intended to contain:—

CA.	-	CANEL	Ro.	-	ROSEN
SLA.	-	SLAG	Mü.	-	MUSCHATEN
ZY.	-	ZIMMT	NEG.	-	NEGELKEA

My thanks are due to Mr. A. B. Skinner, of South Kensington Museum, and Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, for carefully examining these unique specimens. Both these ivories are in the writer's possession.

Amongst the other items found were some small silver coinage of Elizabeth; several shillings of Charles I., of ordinary types, with arms in square shield on reverse; sundry copper tokens, and various copper coinage of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; a number of Cromwellian pipe bowls and a piece of carved oak of Jacobean workmanship.

In the month of May, whilst excavating on the site of the garden ground of the Hospital of the Gaunts, at the end of Orchard Street, the workmen discovered two mediæval water-bottles, of light brown pottery, and green-glazed inside; they are of similar design and size, and without handles; dimensions, 11 in. high by 10 in. diameter at the widest part, tapering to a rounded base; the mouth measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. across outside and 2 in. inside, and there are 10 slight grooves round the body. One was found upright and the other lying on its side, about eight feet apart, and just within the boundary wall of the street referred to. These are now in the Bristol Museum.

About the same time, when workmen were pulling down old premises at the end of Narrow Wine Street, in what is known as Newgate Hill, for a new factory for Messrs. Parnall and Sons, Limited, some remains of old Newgate were brought to light, comprising an archway and a moulded window; also three carved stones, which formed the overmantel of a fire-place, probably belonging to the Governor's house of old Newgate; the centre panel bears the City Arms, and the side sections are ornamented with Tudor roses and Romanesque scroll work, of early seventeenth century workmanship. This carving is now incorporated in the new building.

The discoveries on Brandon Hill in May, in digging the foundations for the Cabot tower, were fully reported to the British Archæological Association in a Paper by Dr. Fryer, one of our members.

In June, whilst sinking a shaft in Broadmead for drainage purposes, a sovereign of Henry VIII.'s fourth issue, was found; this is of somewhat rare mintage, and is as follows:—

Obv: Usual type. HENRIC' 8. DI. GRA. AGL. FRANCI. Z. HIB'. REX.

Rev: The Royal shield of arms, crowned; deep crown; supported by a crowned lion and dragon. IHS. AUTE'. TRANSIENS. PER. MEDIV'. ILLO'. IBAT.

This is now in the Bristol Museum.

On September 8th, upon the site of the new building now being erected for the Scottish Widows Assurance Company,

in Baldwin Street, during excavations for deep foundations, a quantity of unused lead bullets was found, about 7 ft. below the surface, and 35 ft. from the present street frontage. These were of two sizes. But strange to say, on October 1st, a further lot was discovered at a depth of 10 ft., lying on the clay, and within 12 ft. from the line of street. These comprised three sizes, and most of them were smaller than those in the previous find. The bullets had been roughly made, and are most probably the remains of a military store connected with the sieges of Bristol, 1643—1645. They were suitable for the harquebuss, carabine, and pistols of those troublous times. Though specimens have been dug up from time to time in various parts of Bristol, this is believed to be the first instance of *unfired* bullets of that period having been found in this district.

Viscount Dillon, P.S.A., to whom I reported the discovery, wrote as follows:—

“The bullets of those days were so much smaller than the bore of the arms in which they were used, that the roughness and bad casting would not, I suppose, make much difference. The finding of ammunition of that date is, I should think, very rare.”

NOTE.—The illustration of the Pithay is produced from a negative by Mr. Walter Norgrove, which has been kindly lent by him, and the illustrations of the Carved Ivories are kindly lent by the Society of Antiquaries of London, in the current number of whose *Proceedings* they are figured and described.

The Church of St. Andrew, Clevedon.

BY ROBERT HALL WARREN, F.S.A.

(Read May 28th, 1896.)

The position of the Church at such a distance from the Court and centre of the village seems to indicate that it was intended to serve outlying houses in a westerly direction, and it is more than likely that the founders intended its tower to be a landmark and a guide to those whose business was on the great waters. It certainly is a curious departure from the usual Somerset custom of the close proximity of the Church to the Court House, and is sufficient to justify the existence of the chapel in Clevedon Court, an arrangement which would have been quite needless at Tickenham or Clapton. In considering the situation of the Church it should be borne in mind that Clevedon on the hill is only a development of the present century, in the early part of which the population was only 334; even in 1829, when Rutter* wrote his *Delineations of Somerset*, there were only forty new houses as the nucleus of the present watering-place.¹

¹ An anonymous writer in *The Archaeological Magazine* (Bristol, 1843, pp. 58-63), gives a good account of "Old Clevedon Church" as it appeared more than half a century ago, with four illustrations of the exterior and interior. He accounts for the position of the Church by pointing out that at the time of its erection there was no other Church for miles around, so that "though at one extreme of the district from which its name was taken, it may have been more centrally situated when all its congregation was considered." The same writer tells us that as a landmark "the old Church has been looked upon by pilots, even in our own time, as of importance in this respect; and this has been made an excuse, till within the last three or four years, for whitewashing it all over."

The best approach to the Church is by an ancient stoned footpath on the side of the hill at the western extremity of the village, in continuation of a path by the coast sheltered by a wall of great thickness, built to keep the sea from encroaching on the marshes. By the side of this path are a number of erect stones, looking like the headstones in a churchyard, and the writer was once seriously told that they marked the resting places of those who had been cast up by the sea. No such gloomy associations however need trouble us, for they simply mark, in clumsy fashion, the various responsibilities of the landowners for some miles inland, each having to keep a certain portion of the wall in repair, and the spaces between the stones correspond with the patchwork buildings of the wall. These vary from one to sixty feet in width, and the arrangement for individual contributions is so clumsy that we can only suppose it to be of long standing.¹ The Church, resting between the Church Hill and Wain's Hill, is sheltered by rising ground from the violence of the waves which beat against the rocks below, and possesses such interesting examples of early work as to render it highly attractive to the archæologist. Following the Mother Church of the Diocese it is dedicated to St. Andrew, and consists of nave, south aisle and porch, central tower with transepts and chancel. The following remarks are based on notes made in 1855, on a visit to this and the neighbouring churches in company with the late Mr. E. W. Godwin, F.S.A.

In an exterior circuit beginning at the west end of the nave we notice the curious window, of three lights, of the fourteenth century. The tracery, though evidently retaining the original design, appears as if wanting a lower foil, the

¹ In a deed belonging to Mr. Steuart Fripp of Clifton, it is recited that Sir John Knight, Macaulay's "coarse minded and spiteful Jacobite," whose "Sunday recreation (as Mayor of Bristol) was hunting up Quakers and other Nonconformists," had to pay in the year 1676-7 fines to the Court of Sewers Axbridge, to the extent of £450, for not fulfilling his duty of repairing his portion of the sea wall at Clevedon.

centre light being open to the head. There can be little doubt that it was intended to be filled with glass representing the crucifixion. In the south wall is a two-light good Decorated window, the eastern portion of which has been ruthlessly cut off by a staircase turret communicating with the roof of the large fifteenth century porch. A similar window occupies the space between the porch and transept, which latter has massive diagonal buttresses of two stages at each angle. Though its principal window is a large one of four lights of the usual perpendicular character, the earlier date of the transept is revealed by a two-light ogee-headed window of the fourteenth century in the east wall. Square-headed late windows are inserted in the walls of the chancel, which has a poor east window of perpendicular type; but here again the earlier date is fixed by a Norman corbel table on each wall, shewing that the original Norman chancel has only been altered by the insertion of later windows. In 1843 there were ten corbels on the south side and thirteen on the north; when I made my notes, in 1855, two had gone from the south and seven from the north, but I am glad to say that the work of further destruction has for the present been stayed. The tower is low, and of three stages. Just above the point of the nave roof is a Norman corbel table carried round all four sides. Below this, on the east side, is a two-light Norman window with cushion-head capital to centre shaft, and underneath the window is a string course of round billets; a similar window and string occur on the north side. At the time of my visit, and for years after, both windows were blocked up, and from the thick coats of plaster which covered the whole, their outlines were but faintly distinguished. This has now been removed and the windows opened, adding greatly to the effect of the tower. The upper part (above the corbel table) is modern and of mean design. In the north wall of the nave are two three-light Perpendicular windows, square-headed, and between them a plain doorway of the same date blocked up. The north-west angle of the nave is chambered off from the ground upwards for about six feet, the part above being picturesquely

corbelled out, an arrangement at present meaningless, but until only a few years ago necessitated by the churchyard wall coming so close to the building as to stop the passage round the Church without this expedient. The only entrance is by the south porch which has a stone bench on each side and a door in its west wall, with staircase leading to the roof and also to a "Porch Gallery" which once existed, as at Wraxall and Clapton, and the still nearly perfect specimen at Weston-in-Gordano. The inner doorway is plain, of the fifteenth century, and has a plain large niche over.

The nave is separated from the south aisle by four bays of Decorated arches, chamfered and recessed, 6 ft. 9 in. from pier to pier. The piers are octagonal in plan, with bases of the same shape standing on square plinths which appear to be older. The impost mouldings spring from the pier without capitals, and north and south they overhang the pier, terminating abruptly without dying into it. Three clerestory windows of two lights, square-headed and wide splayed, are apparently of the same date as the arcade. The tower arch of the nave, and that of the south transept have lost their Norman character, having been remodelled in the fourteenth century, and a small doorway near the north-west pier leads to the belfry. The chancel arch is slightly and clumsily pointed, and therefore it must be assigned to a late Norman date, although the mouldings are rudely cut, and such as are found on decided Norman work, as an open lozenge or double chevron shewing a round moulding running between and a three-quarter round cabled for the external moulding. The mouldings spring from square impost, and above is a plain chamfered square hood mould, terminating in long uncouth animal heads. In each jamb is an engaged shaft, the capital of one (on the south side) cushioned shaped, with a star worked by it on the wall, and on the other a head with three intersecting circles formed of pellets. There is a "hagioscope" through the thickness of the east wall of the south transept under a plain pointed arch, and another, square-headed, in the thickness of the east wall of the north transept. Both have square openings in the chancel. In the

north spandril of the chancel arch is an oblong opening to the rood-loft, with two steps remaining on the chancel side. There are no mouldings or ornaments of any description on the east side of the chancel arch, but a small recess of about four inches square existed on each side, apparently for the reception of part of the screen, though these have since been obliterated. The chancel which is entered by two steps has a modern piscina. The roof of the nave is a barrel vault ceiled, and that of the chancel is of the same form, panelled with small oak ribs. The south transept has a very good open timber roof rising from nine corbel heads on each side, principally kings and queens.

At the end of this transept are two large cinque-foliated canopies recessed in the wall, measuring 7 ft. 5 in. each across the base, probably intended for monumental effigies. To the south of the window in the east wall is an acutely pointed trefoil-headed piscina, indicating the existence here of an altar; no doubt a chantry dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr, referred to later on. The slope of the ground is shewn by an ascent of one step from this transept to the nave, and by another to the north transept, the tower arch of which is of the same date as the chancel arch. Though better pointed, it is devoid of ornamental mouldings.

The aisle has a lean-to roof, it is ceiled and divided into square compartments by small oak ribs, and is supported on the wall side by corbel heads of kings, queens, bishops and monsters, some of which are "restorations" of older work.

Most of the old oak benches remain, they are all of the same character with perpendicular tracery at ends and bold poppy-heads.

The font, which stands to the west of the first pier, is of the fourteenth century, and has an octagonal top with circular basin, standing on a large low circular shaft, with hexagonal base smaller than the top. Of the monumental remains, the earliest is in the south transept, at about the middle of which is a large white alabaster slab, incised with the figure of a knight (7 feet 6 in. in length). His head, which rests on his jousting helmet surmounted by crest, apparently a dog, is

protected by a conical bascinet, leaving a shield-like opening for the face. Over the breast and attached to the lower part of the bascinet are four incised semi-circular lines, resembling a gorget of plate. The arms are covered with brassarts, elbow-pieces with circular plates, and the hands, joined in prayer, are covered with cuffed gauntlets. A skirt of taces, represented by seven lines, reaches to the middle of the thighs. From the upper part of the right of this a belt is brought down across the skirt, and to this is attached a sword, on the left. On the right side a dagger is hung. The thighs and legs are cased in plate, the knees protected by circular ornamented genouillieres, and the feet by sollerets pointed at the toe. The feet rest on a lion, or dog. An inscription all round the four sides is illegible with the exception of the name which I could with difficulty decipher as "Thomas de Clyfdon."

Accounts differ as to this inscription. Collinson, in 1791, says, "The arms and inscription, by being frequently trod on, are worn out," and another century of hard usage has not improved the condition. Rutter, in 1829, says, "The arms and inscription are entirely obliterated."

The difficulty which I experienced in 1855 has not been lessened now, but rather increased, for the requirements of the increasing congregation have encroached in this transept, and the monument has suffered much from their feet. However, at the meeting of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society in 1881, the inscription is recorded, though I fear with too great confidence, as "Hic jacet Sir Thomas dominus de Clevedon." The spelling of the last word is certainly inaccurate. Mr. R. W. Paul (*Inscribed Slabs of North-West Somerset*) has illustrated the slab, and gives the inscription, "Hic Jacet (?) Tho(mas) dom. de Clybden." Thomas Lovell held the manor of Milton Clevedon, and died A.D. 1400, and the monument may be his, or more likely that of his son, Thomas, of whose death no record is found. From the details of this costume, I should assign it to the early part of the reign of Henry VI., c. 1430.

On a high plinth attached to the south-west pier of the tower is a plain slab, and on it a female figure of freestone

about 2 ft. 6 in. long. The head is uncovered and reclines on a pillow. She wears a jacket with very short sleeves, or rather shoulder straps, and tied in at the waist. The neck is bare, the upper part of the jacket is hollowed out disclosing an under-garment, and a collar falls over the top of the jacket. From below the short sleeves come tight sleeves fastened at the wrist. From the back of each shoulder, a narrow lappet of about two inches hangs nearly to the feet. From the waist the gown is of many folds, and reaches to the feet, which have square shoes. The hands are uplifted in prayer. It appears to be of the date of James I.

In the north wall of the chancel, under a plain pointed arch, is the altar tomb of John Ken of Clevedon, who died 1593. "Here resteth the bodye of John Kenn, of Clyvedon, the sonne of John Kenn, of Kenn, esquire, who deceased the 12th day of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord God mcccc°. xc. iiii°." His brother Christopher died the same year and was buried at Ken.

A few fragments of a stone effigy lay in the South Hagioscope, but they are now nowhere to be found. One of them was the head of a knight, with hood of mail and band running round the lower part. Another was part of an arm covered with mail. In the churchyard is the hexagonal base of a cross, with part of the shaft remaining.

There are only two bells in the tower, and only one bears an inscription, with the date 1725.

I to the church the libing call,

And to the grave do summon all.


The only object of interest in the Church Plate is an Elizabethan communion cup of the same type as that figured in *Old English Plate* (Cripps, 4th ed., p. 198), though without cover or paten. Its height is 5½ in. Depth of bowl, 4 in., and diameter of both bowl and circular base, 3½ in. The usual engraved band containing a scroll of foliage runs round the bowl. The date is fixed as 1570, by the London date letter  It has also the lion passant, leopard's head crowned, and a stag's head as maker's mark, which is the



PLATE V.—CLEVEDON CHURCH.

same as on a pair of communion cups at St. Margaret's, Westminster, dated 1551.

A circular salver on feet, of domestic rather than ecclesiastical pattern, has the London date mark of 1748, and on the underpart the following inscription in anticipation of recent developments:—"The gift of the Rev^d Mr John Walker, M.A. (late Vicar) to the altar of Clevedon, 1775."

That there must have been a Norman Church here of no mean dimensions is apparent from the work of this date in the tower and chancel, and from the corbel table on the exterior, the latter is found to be of its original proportions, possibly the ruder work of the builders of St. Augustine's, Bristol, about the middle of the twelfth century, and by its lack of refinement marking the difference between the abbey and village church. No alterations were made in the thirteenth century, but in the fourteenth, the Church was enlarged by the addition of the aisle on the south side, and at the same time the arches of the tower on the nave and south transept sides were remodelled in the prevailing style. Perhaps at this time the whole of the Church with the exception of the tower and chancel were rebuilt. The south transept seems to have been enlarged in the fourteenth and also again in the succeeding century, and may be indebted for such attention to its being the place of sepulture of the lords of the manor.

Additions of parapets and windows, as usual, are to be seen of the fifteenth century, and the work of that style here is of two dates, one of very inferior workmanship and design. The manor of Clevedon was granted by William the Conqueror to Matthew de Moretania, but as soon afterwards as 1166 the possessors had assumed the name of "de Cliveden." In the family of this name it continued till the fiftieth year of the reign of Edward III., when it came to Edmund Hogshaw, whose father had married the daughter of the last lord. He dying without issue, it passed into the hands of his two brothers-in-law, Sir Thomas Lovel, Knight, and John Bluet. Bluet afterwards conveyed his right to Sir Thomas Lovel, son of the former Sir Thomas, who thus obtained undivided

possession. His son-in-law, Sir Thomas Wake, Knight, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to King Edward IV., succeeded him, and afterwards his son Roger. This Sir Roger Wake was attainted in Parliament, after the battle of Bosworth Field, for having espoused the cause of Richard III., and his lands were forfeited to the use of Henry VII., who granted them to certain parties, to be held by the annual payment of a red rose. Sir Roger afterwards obtained a pardon and the restitution of his lands. In this family the manor remained for nearly a century and a half, when it passed, by marriage, to John Digby, Earl of Bristol, and was afterwards sold to Sir Abraham Elton, Bart., in whose family it still remains. The manor of Clevedon has been well illustrated in a paper on "The Clevedon Family," by the late Sir John Maclean, in the *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, 1895. Genealogy is a dry study, and the only gleam of light at all encouraging is the will of Sir John de Clevedon, who appears before us as a living man in the year 1336. He desires to be buried in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, in the Church of St. Andrew, at Clevedone, which we may fairly assume to have been the south transept, as that was the family resting place. He gives to the altar of St. Thomas a suit of vestments and a silver chalice, and to the high altar of St. Andrew a silk cope. "Also I bequeath to Sir Thomas, the perpetual vicar of Clyvedone, the horse with all its military trappings going before my body on the day of my burial, or twenty marks sterling at the choice of the said vicar, so that if the aforesaid vicar shall chose the aforesaid twenty marks, that the said horse with all its trappings shall return to my executors. Also I bequeath the remainder of my ecclesiastical vestments, not previously bequeathed, with a chalice, to the Chapel of St. Peter in my manor of Clyvedon. Also I bequeath for the vigil of my burial forty pounds of wax to make four torches each of them to contain ten pounds, and that four poor men newly clothed in russet are to be assigned to carry them. Also I bequeath for the day of my burial a hundred pounds of wax to make five candles to stand

around my body, each of them to weigh twenty pounds. Also twenty marks sterling to be distributed to the poor on the same day. Also I ordain and appoint that the entire residue of all my goods (after certain bequests) shall be assigned to two chaplains to celebrate divine service for my soul, in the aforesaid Chapel of St. Thomas, namely Sir John de Evesham and Sir John Usk, as long as the residue lasts, each of them to receive five marks a year." Twenty marks, the alternative gift to the vicar in the event of his declining the horse and trappings, would then represent £13 6s. 8d., and the present value would be about ten times as much, so that we can well imagine the good vicar doing a little mental arithmetic as he sees the funeral procession approaching the porch, and debating in his mind whether to take the horse or the hard cash.

The Church was appropriated to the Abbey of St. Augustine in Bristol, and was valued at twelve marks in 1292, the first Vicar recorded being Henry de Ashelworth in 1331. Ashelworth in Gloucestershire being an ancient manor of St. Augustine's.

Frequent references occur to the chantry chapel of Hydehall in Clevedon, but no remains exist, and no tradition or other clue to its site, though as the road passing the court is called Highdale, it may be that the chapel recently discovered in the court may be the one in question. In *Somersetshire Incumbents* a list of chaplains is given between the years 1318 and 1449. In 1534 the value of the land belonging to Hydall was £6 8s. 2d. per annum.

The chantry is mentioned in the Close Rolls 25th Edward I. (1297), and was dedicated to St. Nicholas.

Here my architectural notes end, but it would be the height of affectation to suppose that the crowds of visitors who come to this church are attracted by Norman arches or knightly effigies. A little more than a hundred years have passed since the great philosopher and poet, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, brought his bride to the humble cottage we have just passed. The rent was low, only five pounds a year, and judging from the poet's letter to Mr.

Cottle, his requirements in the way of furniture were on a corresponding humble scale. "Send me (among other things) a cheese toaster, two large tin spoons, a bible, a keg of porter, &c., &c." Still he spent many happy days here, and wrote lines immortalising his content. We know that he climbed these hills, and he may here have felt the silence of that mystic sea which suggested the "Rime of the Ancient Mariner." But it is to a greater poet that our thoughts naturally turn, and to the lines which have made the south transept a place of pilgrimage from all parts of the world, and link our hearts with his in that divine monody. Which of us as we watch the rising moon does not sometimes think of it as bent towards this lonely church, and of the dear friend of Tennyson immortalized by his lines.

We know that in his place of rest,
By that broad water of the west,
There comes a glory on the walls.
The marble bright in dark appears
As slowly steals a silver flame
Along the letters of his name
And o'er the numbers of his years!

Doubts having been expressed at the time this paper was read and since, as to the identity of the cottage occupied by Coleridge, I have taken pains to investigate the matter with the following results.

The cottage now called Coleridge Cottage, on the high road from the Railway Station to Clevedon Church has been known to me for more than fifty years, and in early life was impressed on me as the residence of the poet. It was then called "Myrtle Cottage," as is shewn by a sketch in my possession, taken about the year 1845, with a reference as "the residence of Coleridge, 1795." One of the oldest residents in Clevedon, Mr. Samuel Ransford, writes to me, Dec. 3rd, 1896, "I can only confirm your opinion as to its situation. It was always known to be 'Myrtle Cottage' beneath Hangstone Hill, up which the poet used to climb, and from which he composed one of his chief poems descriptive

of the scenery. I can myself remember 'Myrtle Cottage,' as thus described 65 years ago,—

"In the open air our myrtle's blossomed,"
and—

"Across the porch thick jessamine's twined."

It is only recently that the idea started of the cottage being close to the old church. I never heard such an opinion in former days. An old farmer and his wife, of the name of Lowle, lived at "Church Cottage" some few years ago, and in their garden behind were the ruins of some old cottage, and they surmised it might be where Coleridge lived, without any facts to prove it. My father always knew "Myrtle Cottage" as Coleridge's, and all the old inhabitants of Clevedon, now dead, testified to the same effect."

This should be conclusive, as it records a tradition going back to the early part of the century, and harmonizes with the description of his surroundings.

When first

From that low dell, steep up the stony mount,
I climbed with perilous toil and reached the top,
Oh! what a goodly scene!

NOTE.

It may not be generally known that Thackeray wrote part of *Vanity Fair* at Clevedon Court, and that it is the original of the old house in *Esmond*. He was an old friend of the late Sir Arthur H. Elton, Bart., whose daughter, Mrs. Gibbs, published an interesting letter on the subject recently in a London newspaper, in which she stated that "Thackeray made a great many sketches at my old home, some of the members of the family, and one of the house, which is in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Ritchie. The room in which he wrote has a curious history. It was used as a boudoir by my mother, and has a beautiful foliated fourteenth century window looking on to the lawn, and a

70 *The Church of St. Andrew, Clevedon.*

smaller window opening into the great hall on the opposite side. After the fire, in 1882, which consumed the library, with its fine Jacobean mantelpiece, and part of the west wing, there were two windows discovered in the wall, which is six feet thick. One small one, date fourteenth century, was found in the little room leading out of the hall, and a larger one, foliated, of same date, was found in the wall of the boudoir, and underneath it the remains of a stone altar and a piscina, showing clearly that the room had been a small chapel," etc.

ED.

The Heraldry of the Jennyns Brass, Churchill, Somerset.

BY F. WERE.

As I was kindly allowed to accompany the Club on its visit to Churchill Church, in April, 1897, I beg to offer the result of my researches concerning some armorials contained therein, on a brass to Raphe Jennyns, who, in 1563, acquired the manor from the St. Loe family; the inscription says he died in 1572.

Collinson (*Somerset*, iii., p. 581) says:—"On a blue stone in the floor are portraitures in brass of a man and woman, and the following inscription:—

Here lyeth Raphe Jennyns, esquier, which dyed the x day of Apryll in the yere of ourorde God M^{cccc}clxxii, and was burged the xviij day of the same moneth, leaving behynd hym Joane hys wyffe, and having by her liii chyl dren, that ys to wite, fyve sonnes and thre daughters.

Underneath are the effigies of these children, and about the stone several shields with arms, some of which are effaced. Among those that remain intelligible are—On a chevron three lions rampant. Quarterly, 1. On a fesse three bezants. 2. A bull's head erased. 3. Two bars charged with three martlets each. 4. As the first."

Of the abovenamed shields, the first, "On a chevron three lions rampant," is not there at present, unless it is the first shield, which is a plain one with a plain chevron, and the engraving has worn away; this may have been intended for "Gules on a chevron (generally couple-closed) Argent, 3 lions

rampant of the field." *Rowlett*. Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Raphe Rowlett, was mother of Raphe Jennyns. The crest is an uncertain reading, but looks like "a lion's head erased Ermine fretty . . ." may be lozengy Ermine and Argent. The crest of Rowlett I have not been able to find. The second shield Collinson gives without tinctures or family names, but it is the one there now, viz., Quarterly, 1st and 4th, "Argent on a fess (Gules) three roundles (bezants)" Jennyns (Jennings) 2nd "(Gules) a bull's head cabossed Argent (armed Or). *Duston*. This marriage begins the Jennings pedigree in the Hertfordshire Visitation; this coat is also quartered with Jennyns and impaled with Gore (see Aubrey and Jackson), as it once figured in the Hall windows of Aldrington Old Manor House, Wilts; and represents the marriage of Edward Gore with Elizabeth, daughter of R. Jennyns, ob. 1627. 3rd "(Azure) on each of two bars (Or) 3 martlets (Gules)." *Burdett*. This represents the marriage of Thomas Jennyns, ancestor of Raphe, with Alice, daughter and heiress of Robert Burdett. Crest—On wreath a demi-lion (rampant erased Or) holding a spear, or may be a mace, erect (Argent headed Azure).

Of the abovenamed shields, *First*, "Argent, 6 roundles (pellets) in pale 3 and 3 on a chief embattled (Sable) a lozenge fessways of the 1st charged with a cross patty of the 2nd. *Brouncker*. Crest.—Armoured arm erect holding tilting spear. *Second*. Very much defaced, but showing enough to prove that it is the Brouncker above impaling "Argent 6 lozenges 3, 2, 1 (Gules). *Braybrooke*. Wilts Visitation says Henry Branker married Elizabeth Braybrooke, whose daughter Joane was wife of R. Jennings of Churchill, Somerset; also in a chamber in the house of William Brouncker there was a coat showing this alliance, and the date 1555.

President's Address, 1897.

BY LIEUT.-COL. J. R. BRAMBLE, F.S.A.

(Read January 25th, 1897.)

In again addressing you, at the termination of the twelfth year of the existence of our Club, I must express my great regret at my inability to be present at either of the excursions which have taken place since our last Annual Meeting.

In consequence, I am unable to say anything, except at second hand, of the objects of interest visited. I must, therefore, simply refer to the able notes compiled by our Hon. Secretary, which have been read at our Meetings and which will be duly printed in our *Proceedings*.

During the year some very interesting discoveries (although on comparatively a small scale) have been made in connection with our Cathedral. The excavations on the south side, consequent on the formation of the new road towards the Hot Wells, have disclosed portions of walls and a doorway, with various worked stones. Unfortunately, the very purpose for which these excavations were made precluded the possibility of the remains disclosed being preserved, but accurate ground plans and drawings have been made, which will be available for our *Proceedings* in connection with a future descriptive Paper. Moreover, the Streets Improvement Committee having kindly intimated that, while they could not incur any expense in the removal or preservation of relics of the past, they were quite prepared to allow any which we considered of interest to be removed, the only portion having distinct architectural features has been transferred (by sufferance of the Dean and Chapter) into the enclosed ground within the new wall, immediately opposite the place of

discovery. Our thanks are due to Mr. W. W. Hughes, the Clerk to the Chapter, for the great interest which he took in the matter and the facilities afforded.

An old house erected, subsequently to the suppression of the Abbey, upon a portion of the western side of the Lower or Infirmary Cloister, is about to be pulled down. A very able paper, illustrated with photographs of the interesting staircase, mantel-piece, and plaster ceilings, has been contributed by our member, Mr. Pritchard, and will appear in our *Proceedings*. It is to be regretted that this good specimen of a seventeenth century house could not be retained; and it may be hoped that, now that Mr. Pritchard has pointed out the interest attaching to it, arrangements for the purpose may still be found practicable. In my view, however, it is a mistake for any society or archæologists, either generally or individually, to be constantly protesting against the destruction or alteration of anything *simply* because it is old. The dead cannot be permitted to crowd out the living, neither can the buildings of past generations be allowed to stand in the way of definite modern improvements. While, therefore, we deprecate unnecessary, still more wanton, destruction of relics of the past, we shall do far better by concentrating our efforts for preservation on subjects of real historical or archæological importance, rather than by raising a howl of execration against every corporation, ecclesiastical, or civil, or individual, who ventures to pull down an obsolete building or to adapt a shop for the necessary purposes of his business. No doubt if we still had the Bristol of the fifteenth or sixteenth century it would be infinitely more picturesque than the Bristol of the present day; but where would the inhabitants be? Old houses are, as a rule, places to live out of.

But this leads to the consideration whether corporations, ecclesiastical or civil, should not be subject to some control or supervision with respect to their treatment of the cathedrals, churches and other buildings and places of a public character which are committed to their care. It may even be asked whether such control may not be extended to all bodies of a public character, and even to private indi-

viduals—whether the provisions of the Public Monuments Act should not be extended, and be compulsory and not permissive, as now. It is not sufficient that they should seek the advice of an eminent architect, or even that a second eminent architect should be found to swear to the assertions of the first. Our ancient cathedral and churches were erected *Ad majorem Dei Gloriam*—"For the greater Glory of God." Now, too often, they are built for the greater glory of the architect, or to embody the fads of the architect or of his employers.

It is not because the five clergymen forming a Dean and Chapter are individually good or popular preachers, literary men, holy men, sound supporters of the Church of England, or equally strong supporters of Disestablishment—politicians of one kind or another—that they have been tutors of royal princes, or of the sons of prime ministers or lord chancellors, or that in one form or another they have "Court influence"—that a clergyman, directly he becomes a member of the Lesser Chapter of a Cathedral, is in any way a proper custodian of the fabric in which not only the Chapter and the Diocese but the whole of England, and, to some extent, the civilised world are interested. It is not every Chapter which is like that of Wells Cathedral, where the Dean, Dr. Jex Blake, and the Sub-Dean, Canon Church, are F.S.A.'s, and not only they but their colleagues, Canons Bernard, Buckle and Ainslie, may be safely trusted to deal with this cathedral and its surroundings with a reverent and loving hand.

This question has received a huge object lesson in the pulling down, now proceeding, of a portion of the West front of Peterborough Cathedral. Notwithstanding the strong appeals by the Society of Antiquaries, by the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, and other similar bodies, who have shown that the destruction—for it is destruction of the old work and nothing less—is unnecessary, and have even undertaken to find the money to do the work in a proper preservative manner, the Dean and Chapter insist on their right "to do as they like with their own," and contend that the only ones to whom they are accountable

are their subscribers! *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat!* Surely the days of Deans and Chapters, as having the control of the fabrics of our national Cathedrals, are numbered, when it comes to this.

Another subject which has been exercising the minds, both of archæologists and of the outside public, has been the obliteration of the ivy and other foliage which was, a few years ago, considered the necessary accompaniment of a ruined building. For many years I have paid systematic visits to the ruined abbeys and castles in England and Wales, as well as many abroad, and I am bound to say—at the risk of being considered as no longer fit to be one of your number, still less to preside over your deliberations—that in my view such destruction is a mistake. Keep the ivy within bounds; do not permit chance trees, which have obtained a lodgment on the walls, to attain such a height as to imperil the structure. But remember that the building is not everything. That the foliage adds beauty and picturesqueness to the ruin which in bygone times have pleaded hard for its preservation when purely archæological reasons might have been in vain; and that if the artistic instincts are defied or set at nought, a very powerful interest in the cause which both parties have at heart is destroyed. I had not, myself, the opportunity of seeing the Colliseum at the time when an account of the trees and plants growing there made a not inconsiderable volume; but I have paid many visits to it since, and the destruction is a grievous one. It is not only that an appearance of dilapidation is set up instead of the gentle influence of decay, but in the process itself more real destruction is committed in in one month than would be caused by Nature herself in a hundred or more years, and of the building itself little beyond the dry bones of architecture and perhaps of history are left. I regret to differ so widely from many who have done such good work in the elucidation or preservation of our ancient buildings, but my visit during the last autumn to many of our most celebrated Yorkshire and Lancashire abbeys and castles have strongly confirmed opinions previously formed.

Proceedings of the Club.

1897.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

JANUARY 25TH, 1897.

COL. J. R. BRAMBLE, F.S.A., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The meeting was held at the Imperial Hotel, Clifton, and was preceded by the Annual Dinner, at which nineteen members were present. Mr. R. Hall Warren, F.S.A., read a statement of the financial position of the Club, and said that he had audited and found correct the accounts which had been handed to him by the late Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Forster Alleyne, before he left England. These showed a still larger balance in favour of the Club than last year.

The President then delivered an Address, chiefly on the subject of the so-called "Restoration" of our Cathedrals and other historic monuments, and the necessity, in many instances, for the old to make way for the new in the matter of picturesque old houses required for street improvements in Bristol and elsewhere.

A ballot then took place for the election of new members, which resulted in the election of Judge Austin, Professor C. Lloyd Morgan, Mr. H. C. Barstow, and Mr. Daniel C. A. Cave, all of Clifton.

The Officers and Committee of the previous year were then re-elected, with two exceptions, Mr. R. Hall Warren becoming Hon. Treasurer in the place of Mr. Forster Alleyne, retired, and the Rt. Rev. Bishop Brownlow, D.D., being elected on the Committee in place of the Rev. C. S. Taylor, who had left Bristol on his appointment to the Vicarage of Banwell, Somerset.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr. Hudd, exhibited, by kind permission of the authorities of the Bristol Museum, a copy of an ancient drawing of "The Chapel of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary" formerly on Bristol Bridge, upon which he read some notes. *See* paper, pp. 1-11.

Mr. John E. Pritchard read some notes on "Bristol Castle Remains," and the failure of the scheme for their preservation, in which he and other members of the Club had been interested. The paper is printed at pp. 17-19. *See also Proceedings*, vol. i, p. 292; vol. ii, p. 266; and vol. iii, p. 168.

AFTERNOON WALKS, MARCH 27TH, APRIL 10TH AND 24TH.

The afternoon rambles to places of prehistoric interest, which were commenced in 1895, were resumed on Saturday, March 27th, 1897, when upwards of a dozen members of the Club proceeded to Twerton by G.W.R. train from Bristol, where they were joined by the Rev. W. W. Winwood, of Bath, and other friends, and walked to Englishcombe. After looking at the interesting Norman and later work in Englishcombe Church, which was commented upon by the Vicar and by Colonel Bramble, Mr. W. V. Gough, and other members of the Club, the Vicar conducted the party to the remains of Wansdyke, in the fields to the west of the Church, where the Hon. Secretary said a few words on the course of the dyke from Maesknoll and Stantonbury Camps, at both of which places they had been examined by the Club. The cause of the earthworks being so much larger near Englishcombe than in any other portion of the Wansdyke's course through Somersetshire, was probably from this being a strong Saxon settlement. The site of the ancient Castle is still to be seen, called "Culverhays." Collinson says:—¹ "According to tradition, Inglishcombe was the seat of some of the Saxon kings." After thanking the Vicar the members walked back, under Mr. Winwood's guidance, passing the site of the Castle and the Barrow hill, to Twerton, where the Church, recently restored, was looked at, and thence by train to Bristol, which was reached about 6 p.m.

The second ramble of the season took place on Saturday, April 10th, when the fine old Camp at Dolbury was visited. Proceeding by train to Sandford Station, where the President (Col. Bramble), the Rev C. S. Taylor, and others joined the party, they walked to the Camp, from which they had a magnificent view, including the Sugar Loaf, the Skerrid, and other hills near Abergavenny; the air being beautifully clear. Col. Bramble gave an account of the Camp, which was probably constructed by the ancient Britons, and afterwards occupied by the Romans and others. On descending the hill to Churchill they were joined by the Vicar, the Rev. S. P. Jose, who kindly invited the members to tea at the Vicarage, and afterwards to inspect the Church, where the Jennyns brass, the Latch monument, and the font were examined with interest. Mr. F. Were, of Gratwicke Hall, who had joined the party, said the heraldry of the Jennyns brass was very puzzling, some of the bearings not having yet been identified. The attention of the Vicar was called to the condition of the brass, and he promised to have it repaired at an early date. After thanking the Vicar and Mrs. Jose for their kind reception, the members walked back to Sandford, and returned by the 6.23 train to Bristol.

The third walk took place on Saturday, April 24th, and was attended by twenty-three members and friends. On the arrival of the train from Bristol at 2.20, at the Banwell Station, the party was met by the Vicar, the Rev. C. S. Taylor, and after a beautiful walk through woods gay with spring flowers, to Banwell Camp, an enclosure of twenty-one acres, from the summit a most striking view of the surrounding country was

¹ *History of Somersetshire*, vol. iii., p. 339.

enjoyed; not quite so extensive as the view from the neighbouring Dolbury Camp, but perhaps more picturesque. Descending the hill to the curious little Cruciform Mound nearer the village, an account of this somewhat mysterious earthwork was given by Mr. A. T. Martin, F.S.A., who believed it to have been a Roman landmark.

On reaching the fine old Parish Church, the Vicar called on the President to say a few words on the architecture, and on the conclusion of Col. Bramble's remarks, Mr. Taylor gave a brief account of the early history of the Church :—

BANWELL CHURCH.—"On a Christmas Day about 885 King Alfred gave a monastery at Banwell to Asser, a Welsh priest who afterwards became Bishop of Sherborne, no doubt because it lies on the Roman road between South Wales and Winchester; there is no mention of an abbey here after that time. In 904 the Bishop and Monks of Winchester gave Banwell to King Edward the Elder, and he gave it to a monastery at Cheddar, which was secularised before 941. Before 1033 King Cnut gave Banwell to Duduc, who became Bishop of Wells in that year, and on Duduc's death in 1060 it fell into the hands of Earl Harold, afterwards King of the English. In the summer of 1068 William the Conqueror gave it to St. Andrew the Apostle and the Bishopric of Wells, and it has belonged to the See ever since, except for a few years, when it was alienated by Bishop Barlow in the reign of Edward VI., and recovered by Bishop Bourne under Queen Mary. The Bishops had a Manor House just to the east of the Church for at least 250 years; it was disused after the Reformation, and a new house was built by Bishop Godwin (1584--1590) at Towerhead.

"The noble tower of the Church, which was built perhaps about 1380, is 100 feet high; it contains a ring of six bells, the tenor weighing 24 cwt., and a Sanctus bell. The two figures on the western face are those of St. Gabriel the Archangel and the Blessed Virgin Mary, representing the Annunciation, the lily pot in the southern niche being a symbol of Purity. The lily pot in the northern niche was put up a few years ago and is meaningless.

"It will be seen that the south wall of the nave is built against the side of the tower buttress. The points which the late Mr. Freeman considered most worthy of note are the turrets at the east end of the nave, and the proportions of the aisles, which he considered perfect. Passing to the interior of the Church, the remains of the holy water basin will be seen on the right of the door. The oldest part of the existing Church is the north wall of the nave. The bases of the old pillars may still be seen, and it is probable that the existing pillars were not rebuilt, but were hewn out of the old larger pillars, as was done with the nave pillars at Winchester Cathedral; this was certainly done in the case of the pillar to which the pulpit is attached. The original height of the north wall may be seen where it joins the tower, and the old line of roof may be traced on the eastern face of the tower. Above the old apex of the roof is a figure of St. Andrew, the Patron Saint, holding a net in one hand and his peculiar cross in the other. Similar figures may be seen above the roof at Axbridge and Cheddar. Probably about 1400 the south wall of the nave and the aisles were built, a clerestory was added on the north side, and the very beautiful oak roof was placed over all. The chancel was added perhaps a

century later. The Wardens' accounts show that the chancel screen was carved and set up in 1522; no doubt its late date saved it in the destructive times of Edward VI. and Elizabeth; people were not inclined to smash what they or their fathers had paid for. The seats in the nave are good specimens of pre-Reformation work; the marks of the adze may be seen on some of them. The only old glass in the Church is inserted in the east windows of the aisles. In the vestry is a good brass, in memory of John Martock, physician, who died in 1503.

"The Rectory of Banwell was given to Bruton Priory about 1150 by Bishop Robert, and after the dissolution Henry VIII. gave it as part of the endowment of the Dean and Chapter of Bristol, who are still the patrons of the Vicarage."

On leaving the Church the members partook of afternoon tea at the Vicarage, and after thanking the Vicar and Miss Taylor for their kind reception, the party walked back to the station, visiting on the way the remains of the ancient house of the Bishops of Wells, with its chapel, which has been recently "restored."

EXCURSION TO CIRENCESTER.

The first general excursion of the Club for the year 1897 took place on Friday, June 18th, when a small party of members and friends left Bristol in a saloon-carriage attached to the 9.55 G.W.R. train, and, on reaching Cirencester at 11.43, were met by Mr. Ernest Whatley, who kindly acted as guide throughout the day. Proceeding in carriages to the "Querns," the remains of the Roman amphitheatre just outside the walls of Corinium were inspected, after which a visit was paid to the Museum, where the Roman pavements, altars, coins, and other antiquities found in Cirencester and neighbourhood were examined. These have been so fully described in the *Transactions* of the County and other Archæological Societies, that we need not describe them here.

Luncheon having been partaken of at the King's Head Hotel, the members, still under the guidance of Mr. Whatley, visited the ancient Town Hall, the fine old Parish Church of St. John (where they were received by Archdeacon Hayward), the Abbey House grounds, where the splendid Roman capital was much admired, but regret was expressed that it was not kept under cover, as its present exposed position must lead to the destruction of much of the ornamental detail from frost and bad weather. The interesting Roman pavement in the Barton was found to have suffered much of late from damp, and it was suggested that the attention of Lord Bathurst should be called to its condition. By kind invitation of Mr. Wilfrid Cripps, C.B., F.S.A., the valuable Roman remains at "The Walnuts" were examined, under the guidance of the owner, and of his wife, the Countess Bismark, and the visit concluded with a refreshing cup of tea. Mr. Warren, F.S.A., Vice-President, having thanked Mr. Cripps and the Countess for their hospitable reception and Mr. Whatley for his kind aid, the members walked back to the station, and returned to Bristol by the 6.10 train.

EXCURSION TO WESTBURY COLLEGE, OVER COURT,
ALMONDSBURY, AND AUST.

On Tuesday, September 28th, a large party of members and friends left Clifton in carriages at 10 a.m. and visited several places of antiquarian interest to the north of Bristol.

On reaching the recently repaired Gate House of Westbury Monastery the members were met by Mr. Alfred Shipley and other local residents interested in the remains, and after looking at the exterior and interior of the Gate House, and the site of the monastic buildings, they proceeded to the Collegiate Church, where a paper was read by the Rev. C. S. Taylor, on the early history of the Monastery, "the Cradle of the Benedictine Order in England." Mr. Taylor's paper is printed at pp. 20-42. The drive was then continued to Over Park, where Mr. R. Cann Lippincott received the Club, and, after pointing out the site and remains of the ancient Chapel of St. Swithun and of some prehistoric earthworks, he conducted them to the Court, where he said a few words about the history of the manor, the historic mansion and its contents, including some fine old Flemish tapestry. Mr. Warren, V.P., having thanked Mr. Lippincott for the kind reception of the Club, the drive was continued to the parish church of Almondsbury, where the Rev. C. O. Miles was waiting to direct attention to the special features in that building, which has, unfortunately, been too frequently "restored." It is interesting, however—of a cruciform type, with a curious octagonal lead-covered spire. There is a double piscina, with good mouldings, and a credence shelf; a very early sepulchral slab with an almost illegible inscription, and on the south side a chantry chapel to Saint Swithun. One of the quaintest mural inscriptions known is affixed to the north wall. It commemorates the children of a "poore man born in the province of Dophine, in the kingdom of France," and commences, "Of all the creatures wch God made under the sun, there is none so miserable as man."

After thanking the Vicar for his courteous guidance, the Club lunched at the Swan Inn. On leaving Almondsbury hill, the prospect—described by Bigland as "so extensive, noble, and elegant that it never fails to strike the eye of even an ordinary spectator"—was, unfortunately, too misty to arouse any measure of exultation. The drive was proceeded with by way of Tockington, and the square tower of Olveston Church was soon to be seen, the Vicar (the Rev. J. E. Vernon) being in waiting to guide the visitors over the handsome structure, which was looking exquisitely pretty in its fresh "harvest thanksgiving" dress, hardly then completed for the service to be held later in the week. The church, dedicated to St. Helen, consists of a chancel, nave of five bays; north and south aisles, with a chapel at the east end of each. It has a square tower, the spire having been destroyed by fire in 1604. There is an interesting monumental brass, dated 1505, to Morys Denys, Esq., son and heir of Sir Gylbert Denys, lord of the manors of Alveston and Irdcote, and his son, Sir Walter Denys. Both figures are clad in armour, and are kneeling, facing one another. The choir contains some good carved oak panelling, bearing shields of arms, formerly in the choir of Bristol Cathedral, and there is also a brass hanging candelabra removed from the same place.

Aust Church was next visited, and the Vicar gave a welcome and explained the small structure. The fine old silver Elizabethan Communion cup and cover, dated 1571, with a band of leaf ornamentation, was much admired. In this church the Rev. C. S. Taylor gave an account of "the possible connection of Aust with St. Augustine," and quoted from several very ancient documents, to show that there was good reason to believe that Aust was at, or near, the spot where St. Augustine met the British Bishops. In this conclusion, Bishop Brownlow, D.D., said he quite agreed with Mr. Taylor, as did most of those present. In his interesting little work *Augustine and his Companions*, published in 1895, Dr. Forrest Browne, now Bishop of Bristol, places *Augustinæ Ac* near Cricklade, on the Thames, though he says:—"I am only too well aware of the commanding importance of the authorities from whom I differ in this calculation, and of the great weight which the name of Aust, at the passage of the Severn, gives to their conclusions."¹ Both the Vicars of Olveston and Aust were thanked for their kindness in meeting the visitors.

By the invitation of Colonel and Mrs. Chester Master the Club next visited Knole Park, which was reached about five o'clock, Colonel Chester Master giving a hearty welcome on the party arriving at the mansion, where afternoon tea was served. After an inspection of some interesting portions of a supposed earlier structure, and many rare relics in the family possession, Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley said a few words about Knole, as follows:—"History begins with the great Camp, when the waters of the Severn flowed at the base of the steep declivity which is crowned by the early stronghold, and which from its position must have been of great importance in Roman times. The first authentic history we have of Knole seems to be that it belonged, with Over, to Thomas de Gournay, one of the murderers of King Edward II. He had sold Over before his attainder, but Knole was confiscated on account of the part he took in that event. There was most likely some small castellated building upon this site at that time, the place being too important to have been neglected. We must now for a moment leave Knole, as we have no authentic history of the place, and go to Bristol and trace a little of the family who made Knole of importance as the residence of a distinguished family whose descendant now owns the property. The family of Chester were early connected with Bristol as merchants, and their names frequently occur in the records of the city; but the first of the family who seems to have attained to great civic dignity was Henry Chester, who was one of the bailiffs of Bristol when Margaret of Anjou visited Bristol in Royal state, in 1456-7, and was entertained by the Corporation, the Mayor being Wm. Canynge, the restorer of St. Mary Redcliff. Henry Chester was Sheriff of Bristol in 1470, and died in that year. After several generations of merchant princes, Thomas Chester was Sheriff of Bristol in 1559, and was elected M.P. for the city in 1567. He was then a great landowner, possessing the manor and hundred of Barton Regis, with extensive woods, part of Kingswood Chase. In 1569 he purchased from Sir Henry d'Arcy, in the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, the Manor of Almondsbury, with

¹ *Augustine and his Companions*, pp. 98-99. See also *Hadden and Stubbs*, iii. 41, and Mr. Taylor's paper, ante pp. 43-47.

lands adjoining in Alveston. This manor had belonged to the great Abbey of St. Augustine in Bristol from the time of its foundation by Robert FitzHarding in 1148, and was granted by Henry VIII., in 1545, to the notorious Sir Miles Partridge, on whose execution, in 1552, it reverted to the Crown. It was bought in 1553 by Sir Arthur d'Arcy, whose son Henry had livery of this inheritance in 1559, and sold it ten years after to Thos. Chester. In 1577 Thos. Chester was High Sheriff of Gloucester, and in that year was one of the four merchants of Bristol who contributed £25 each to the second voyage of Frobisher in search of the N.W. Passage. Either this gentleman or his son built a pleasant mansion at Knole, which is the house now before you. He died in 1583, having retained his aldermanic gown till his death. Knole since then has been the principal residence of his family. His son, William Chester, succeeded to his estates in 1584, and by his marriage with Katherine, daughter of Richard Denny, Esq., of Pucklechurch, greatly added to his social position, for she was related to the Lords of Berkeley and other great families of Gloucester. He fixed his residence at Knole, and was the first of his family who was not a merchant of Bristol. Herein is shown the uniting of the families of Chester and Master. Thomas Chester (iv.) of Knole, born 1668, married Ann daughter and coheir of Sir Samuel Astry, of Henbury. They had an only daughter, Elizabeth Chester, who married Sir William Cann, Bart., of Compton Green (he died 1726, aged 31). They left an only daughter, Elizabeth Chester Cann, who married Thomas Master, M.P. for Cirencester, son and heir apparent of Thomas Master, of The Abbey. He died before his father, aged 32, and left three children, one daughter, who died unmarried at Bath, and two sons, Thomas, who married the sister of the first Lord Sherborne, and Richard, who married Isabella Frances Egerton. Thomas Master had one son (died before him) and two daughters, who, as Miss Master and Lady Carteret, succeeded each other in the possession of The Abbey. Their uncle Richard died 1800; and they were then succeeded by their cousin, William Chester Master, father of the present owner and grandfather of Colonel Chester Master. He inherited Knole Park in 1823 and The Abbey in 1863."¹

Before leaving Knole Park, the host and hostess were heartily thanked for their very kind hospitality, and Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley for her paper; and then the return journey was made, Clifton being reached soon after seven.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 24TH, 1897.

COL. JAMES R. BRAMBLE, F.S.A., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The meeting was held at the house of the Hon. Secretary, 94, Pembroke Road, Clifton, and was well attended.

Letters were read from various members who were unable to attend

¹ Much further information on the subject of Knole and its owners, may be read in Mr. R. E. Chester Water's book, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Families of Chester of Bristol, etc.*, London, 1881.

the meeting; also from the Secretary of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, suggesting that the Club should undertake the proposed repairs to Llanthony Abbey, Monmouthshire, to which Mr. Hudd replied, pointing out that the Abbey was quite outside the Bristol district, and suggesting an application to the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association.

The Hon. Secretary called attention to a paper by Dr. Alfred C. Fryer, one of the members of the Club, in the September number of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, on some recent "Discoveries on Brandon Hill, Bristol," during the excavation for the foundations of the "Cabot Tower." He believed the walls found several feet below the surface of the summit of the hill to have been remains of "a crypt belonging to the Chapel of St. Brandon," and that the skeletons were those of "some of the poor hermits who once occupied the hermitage." Mr. Hudd said he had visited the site, and agreed with Dr. Fryer that the bones were probably those of the hermits and other "religious," but he thought the walls belonged not to a crypt but to the Hermitage Chapel itself. The ruins and foundations, so far as they were exposed, agreed fairly well with the account of the Hermitage—"Ecclesia heremitagii super montem altissimum Sancti Brendani"—described by William Wyrcestre. It was much to be regretted that the architect of the Cabot Tower, who is a member of the Club, did not cause a ground-plan of the remains to be made before the Tower was erected over them. Some discussion took place on the subject of these remains and the date of the mound at "Brandon Hill Fort," in which the President, Mr. T. S. Pope, Mr. Gough and other members took part.

The Hon. Secretary announced the resignation of a member, Mr. C. J. Cruddas, who was unable to attend the meetings, and retired under Rule xiv. A ballot then took place, which resulted in the election of a new member to fill the vacancy, the Right Rev. Dr. George Forrest Browne, Lord Bishop of Bristol, Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries, proposed by the President (Col. Bramble), and seconded by Bishop Brownlow, being unanimously elected. The President congratulated the Club on the addition to their number of so distinguished an antiquary.

Mr. G. W. Isaac, of Clifton, sent for exhibition a very finely executed steel spur, recently found in a sand-pit at Salford, near Bristol, respecting which the Hon. Secretary made some remarks. In reply to a letter enclosing a drawing of the spur, Lord Dillon, President of the Society of Antiquaries, wrote:—"It is no doubt of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century, and is of the same date as that shown in Fairholt's *Costume*, i, 259, then belonging to Lord Londesborough." Fairholt says:—"It was the fashion at this time to wear gilded spurs, with rowels of large size and fantastic shape, which clanked and rang as the gallants walked, like the bells which morris-dancers fastened to their ankles" "I had spurs of mine own before," says Fungoso, in Ben Jonson's *Every man in his humour*, "but they were not jinglers." The spur exhibited had the "gingler" attached to the rowel. [This interesting curiosity has, since it was exhibited, been purchased by a member of the Club and presented to the Bristol Museum].

The Hon. Secretary exhibited some rubbings of monumental brasses recently added to his collection, and a copy of the "Cabot Roll," reproduced in *fac-simile* from the original document, now preserved in Westminster Abbey.

Mr. John E. Pritchard exhibited some antiquities recently found in Bristol, including:—i, a beautiful carved ivory draughtsman, of the twelfth century; ii, a curious perforated ivory pomander with the original little glass bottles for scent; iii, some flint arrow-heads and implements; a large number of leaden bullets, probably of the time of the siege of Bristol; and other antiquities. Also a number of photographs and other illustrations of some old Bristol houses recently destroyed or threatened, including the Pithay. Mr. Pritchard read a short paper on the subject, which, under the title of "Vanishing Bristol," is printed at pp. 48-57.

Mr. W. R. Barker, on behalf of the Committee of the Bristol Museum, exhibited a curious earthenware jar, partially glazed, one of three which had been found built into a wall on ground which had formerly belonged to St. Mark's Hospital, respecting which Mr. Pritchard read a letter he had received from Professor McKenny Hughes of Cambridge. See *ante*, p. 56. Two of these vases have since been added to the collection at the Bristol Museum.

Mr. J. G. Holmes read a short paper, illustrated with drawings and photographs on "A Lost Architectural Feature of Bristol Cathedral,"—the beautiful fourteenth century parapet of the choir now replaced by plain battlements. Fragments of the original work, used as building stones had been found during the recent rebuilding of the tower. The design was a very fine one, and it was generally agreed by all present that it would be highly desirable if the ancient parapet could be "restored," instead of one newly designed. It was understood that Mr. Pearson had been informed of the discovery, but said it would be rather costly work to restore the ancient pattern, although, had funds been forthcoming, it would have been well worth doing. It is hoped later to print Mr. Holmes's paper, with illustrations.

Mr. Holmes also exhibited an interesting series of photographs he had recently taken of West of England churches, including some—Edington (Wilts), Wellow (Somerset), etc.—which had been visited by the Club.

Archæological Notes.

Tablet to Thomas Chatterton.—Under the auspices of the Club, a Tablet has been fixed on the front of the Pile Street School, near Redcliff Church, inscribed—

THOMAS CHATTERTON,
POET,
ATTENDED HERE.
BORN 1752. DIED 1770.

This little Tablet was formally unveiled on April 5th, 1897, and handed over to the Vicar of St. Mary, Redcliff, who accepted it on behalf of the Governors of the School, which is now worked in connection with the Redcliff Endowed Schools.

There were present on the occasion Mr. W. R. Barker (Vice President of the Clifton Antiquarian Club), Mr. R. H. Warren (Vice-President), Mr. Alfred Hudd (Hon. Secretary), Mr. John Latimer, Mr. J. E. Pritchard, and Mr. Alfred T. Martin (members of the Committee), Mr. W. George, and Canon Cornish. The company first went through the schools, and had a look at the interesting old house in the garden behind, where probably the Poet was born. Over the doorway is an inscription showing that "This house was erected by Giles Malpas, of St. Thomas, gent., for the use of the Master of this School. A.D. 1749." The visitors returned to the front of the School again, and Mr. W. R. Barker, addressing Canon Cornish, said he had been asked to say a few words in connection with the request of the Clifton Antiquarian Club that the Canon would be pleased to accept the Tablet which commemorated the connection of Chatterton with the School. The Club had made it its business, by means of a number of Tablets, to indicate the connection of various buildings with notable men who had lived in years gone by, and he was sure that Canon Cornish would feel that any work of that sort would be incomplete without some reference to Chatterton, whose fame was world-wide. It was, therefore, thought desirable to erect this Tablet on the Pile Street School, so that henceforth visitors would have no difficulty in identifying the School with which Chatterton was connected in his earliest days, and the building in the rear in which there was every reason to believe he was born. It would be conceded by all that there should be such a permanent record. There was already a memorial not far from that spot, which was of a general character. This Tablet would be a memorial of a special character, identifying Chatterton with the School and residence, and moving them to wonder again, as they had done in the past, at the marvellous power exhibited by one so young, and to pity that condition of mind which led him to destroy his life and all his life's possibilities.

Canon Cornish, on behalf of the Governors of the School, accepted the Tablet, which he was sure they would carefully preserve. They were glad to have that record and memorial of Chatterton's connection with their parish, though there was, as of course they knew, a certain amount of doubt as to how far Chatterton was connected with the School.

Mr. Alfred E. Hudd said the Tablet had been talked about for a number of years by members of the Club, but there were difficulties in the way, to which the Canon had alluded. The late Mr. John Taylor, Mr. John Latimer, and Mr. George, all high authorities, were agreed that there was not the slightest doubt that Chatterton attended the School. Therefore the Tablet stated that he attended.

Mr. William George said Jacob Bryant called on Chatterton's mother in 1781, and from her and her daughter Mary he said, "I learned that he was put to school in Pile Street to be taught to read, under Mr. Love. . . . That he was sent back to his mother, when he was about five years old, as a dull boy, and incapable of instruction." Chatterton was born on the 20th November, 1752. His father died on August 7th, 1752, but according to Dean Mills "The widow continued in the house, which was an indulgence granted her, for some time after her husband's death."

Corinium.—Since the visit of the Club to Cirencester some interesting discoveries of Roman remains have been made by Mr. Wilfrid Cripps, including the Basilica. An account of these discoveries and explorations was given recently by Mr. Cripps to the Society of Antiquaries, and a brief report, with Plan, is published in the July number of the *Reliquary*.

Proceedings of the
Clifton Antiquarian Club,
1898.

President's Address, 1897.¹

BY LIEUT.-COL. J. R. BRAMBLE, F.S.A.

(Read January 5th, 1898).

Our Society has now passed the fourteenth year of its existence, and shows no evidence of declining vitality. Our numbers are, as you know, limited—we have for many years been fixed at fifty—and we have always a sufficient number of qualified applicants to supply the comparatively rare vacancies. In fact, if it was not for our rule that members who have not attended any meeting during the year *ipso facto* cease to be members, resignations would probably never occur at all. That few who have ever been numbered amongst its members willingly leave it is certain, and so far there has been no falling off in the attendance at its afternoon walks, to say nothing of its more formal excursions and meetings.

During the year we have had several very pleasant days. As they are fully reported in our minutes I will not go through them seriatim, but I cannot omit mention of the very kind and hospitable reception which the Society

¹ The Address printed ante pp. 73-76, should have been entitled "President's Address, 1896," instead of "1897."

received at Over Park and at Knole, on the occasion of what I believe was one of the most satisfactory excursions in the annals of the Society.

The boundaries of our city have, since our last meeting, been very widely extended, but its archæological history has been comparatively uneventful. We have, however, lost that wonderful specimen of an almost untouched mediæval street, the Pithay. My experience of Bristol is only of some forty years' standing; I only came to reside here in the spring of 1857, but during that comparatively short period the changes have been great. I would instance the entrance to St. Nicholas and Mary-le-Port Streets, which, when I first knew them, were so narrow that a single crank-axled cart blocked both road and pathways; I have seen such a cart break through the wooden cover of a cellar opposite St. Nicholas' Church, and effectually block the entire road, even to foot passengers, for nearly an hour. The opposite house—"The Druids' Arms"—over-hanging the road, was only kept from falling against the north side of the Church by short, stout struts, and the same method was adopted at the High Street end of Mary-le-Port Street. In either case there was no difficulty in shaking hands from the windows of houses on the opposite sides of the street. The houses at the corner of High Street and Nicholas Street were pulled down, and I may mention that the "Angel" inn, contrary to popular belief, did not stand at this corner but further up High Street, with a return at right angles into Nicholas Street. There were two shops at the corner which were pulled down for widening the street, and the remaining houses, being imperfectly shored up, one evening, about an hour after I passed there, slipped down into the cellars.

It is an ill wind that blows no one any good. New and substantial buildings took the place of the old ones, but the picturesqueness of the "High Street" was practically gone. Further down St. Nicholas Street the "Elephant," popularly known as the "Pig and Whistle," was, about

1863, "set back." Up to that time there was in this part barely room for a cart to pass, but the obstruction was only for a short distance. To get from College Green to Park Street you dipped down into Frogmore Street and up again. Steep Street, now obliterated, formed the wheel road from Host Street to Park Row.

Opposite King's Parade there was barely room for two cabs to pass each other. At Pembroke Road, then called "Gallows-acre Lane,"¹ you had to squeeze against a wall to enable a cart to pass you, and the top of St. Michael's Hill, near Highbury Chapel, was little wider. Hampton Road was a country lane. St. John's Road was a field path, and to get on wheels from Pembroke Road to Clifton Park you had to pass on the south or lower side of Clifton Parish Church, and return by way of Rodney Place. The whole district in which we now are was a nursery ground, the only public path crossing it being in the direction of St. John's Road, which connected a short length of the Apsley Road with Alma Road. Every road leading in and out of the city was blocked by a turnpike gate, with its toll-keeper.²

Bristol Bridge was not more than two-thirds of its present width; the existing foot pavements are simply carried out on iron brackets. There were two toll-houses at each end, but tolls had ceased to be collected, and the houses were converted into shops; the one nearest to S. Nicholas' Church doing, I recollect, a large business in penny pies.

To get to the Railway Station from the Bridge you could either proceed by Bath Street and Temple Street, or by Thomas Street and Portwall Lane; those who were pressed for time making so-called short cuts through the

¹ See note at end—"Gallows' Acre Lane."

² Before November, 1867, when the Bristol turnpikes were abolished, there were no less than fifteen of those "obstacles to locomotion" within the borough. See list in Mr. Latimer's *Annals of Bristol in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 428.

intersecting transverse narrow lanes. The Great Western and Midland trains then started from, and arrived at, the south-west arm of the present Station—while the Bristol and Exeter (then a separate undertaking) used a wooden shed coming to “a dead end” at right angles to the G.W.R. Station, and nearly in the position of the present general booking offices. The down express train, however, stopped at a curve somewhere in the position of the present principal up-platform, and to get to it passengers had to cross the rails of the Bristol and Exeter line. Within my recollection, but before I became a resident, a great sensation was caused in the whole district by the destruction of the Bath Road Bridge, by the drifting against it of a small vessel.

It is impossible to make even a passing allusion to more than a portion of the alterations made in the city and its suburbs, but there are few of us who will not recall the removal of St. Werburgh's Church, and, the erection and removal, within a single generation, of St. Bartholomew's, in Union Street, the site of which is now absorbed in Messrs. Fry & Sons' factory.

I have a copy of the *Book about Bristol*, of our late member, Mr. John Taylor, which is extra illustrated (by the late Mr. John Lavars), to a total of 124 photographs, etc. At least two-thirds of these are now historical, the places depicted having either ceased to exist, or been materially altered; and this although the book was printed so late as 1872. This simple fact may give some idea of the extent of the changes in Bristol during the time I have known it.

But if, on the one hand, we are destroying, more or less necessarily, the buildings of past generations, we are, on the other hand, raising other buildings which, in future times, will be objects of interest to generations yet unborn. In the design or construction of these well-known members of our Society are engaged in proving that we are quite capable of doing something for posterity, although posterity

has never yet done anything for us, and we can anticipate without apprehension the judgment of the future on the Cabot Tower or the new church dedicated to St. Anselm, in our immediate vicinity. I must also refer to the very successful completion of the tower of St. Thomas the Martyr, which has taken place since our last annual meeting.

Since our last meeting, Mr. J. L. Pearson, the architect superintending the restoration of Bristol Cathedral, has died. So far, I believe, no selection of a successor has been made by the Dean and Chapter. We may be allowed to express a hope that their choice may fall upon someone who may have a reverent feeling, not only towards the building as a building, but also towards the great historical and civic interests which attach to it as a fine ecclesiastical edifice, of date long antecedent to the establishment of the See of Bristol. As I have often taken the opportunity to impress on this and kindred societies, architecture is not everything; do not leave the shell without the kernel; do not discard all historical and human interest for the purpose of having a building architecturally perfect and complete.

"GALLOWS' ACRE LANE."

The gallows upon which most of the Bristol criminals were executed, before the present century, stood at the top of St. Michael's Hill, nearly on the spot now occupied by Highbury Chapel. The only execution known to the writer that took place near "Gallows' Acre Lane" is that of Shenkin Protheroe, in 1783, so well described by the late Mr. Joseph Leech, in *Brief Romances from Bristol History*, from which we quote a few sentences:—

"Old Durdham Down! It is prim and neat enough now, but I remember a time when it was rude and rustic, and I liked it better. What between the County Constabulary and the Downs

Committee, there is no covert or opportunity for gentlemen of the picturesque and exciting calling of Richard Turpin and Claude Duval, Esquires. . . . Before the time, however, to which my most remote memory extends, there were other ornaments of the Down, still more interesting, if also terribly grim and ghastly. It was a place of Gibbets!—three of these tall structures having decorated it within memory of an old Cliftonian with whom I conversed not more than a quarter of a century ago. From Westbury Hill to the corner of Gallows' Acre Lane, the noble area was full of memories of murder and robbery. . . . Footpads, being caught, convicted and hanged, were dipped in a bituminous composition, encaged in iron basket-work, and suspended from tall poles, thence to dangle and decay away, a terror to evil doers, as to all who had to cross the greensward after sundown. The last of these gibbeted gentlemen was one Shenkin Protheroe, who was hanged by the neck until he was dead, in 1783, and then suspended from a tall piece of timber with crossbeam, fixed at a spot as near as possible to where the little round tower now leads down into the tunnel of the railway, as it crosses the head of Pembroke Road, which, with its churches and villas, occupies the site of the once narrow thoroughfare with its ill-omened name. . . . Here the gibbet stood erect for a considerable time."

[We are informed by Mr. Latimer, whose attention has been called to the above, that the gibbet upon which Protheroe was executed did not stand on the site named, but near what is now called "The Quarry," some distance further north. Also that the name "Gallows' Acre Lane" was in use, at least, a century before this execution.—ED.]

Ancient Standard Weights and Measures,
With especial reference to the Local Specimens in the
Bristol Museum.

BY W. R. BARKER, J.P.

(Read April 29th, 1898).

I should have hesitated to offer a paper on this subject, did I not know that nothing in the way of a paper can be too dry for a genuine antiquary. I am even afraid that the fact that I shall have to deal largely with liquid measures will not redeem the subject from this charge of dryness, as my measures have long since ceased to serve their useful purpose, and have themselves become encrusted with the dullness of age and disuse, which will never more be disturbed.

And yet, properly looked at, the subject need not be regarded as necessarily either dull or dry, because it is intimately connected with the progress and prosperity of the kingdom itself. Every step in the improvement of our system of weights and measures, from the time when Edgar deposited his standard bushel measure at Winchester; and from the time when Edward I. solemnly decreed, without the means of enforcing the decree, that there should be uniformity in weights and measures throughout the realm—every such step, and there were many, marks an advance towards the settled condition of things brought into existence under the modern imperial system, which came into force in the time of George IV. There can be no doubt that the certainty and uniformity thus gradually established have

96 *Ancient Standard Weights and Measures.*

largely assisted our national advancement, and have contributed to the improvement of the conditions of life which belongs specially to the present age.

In this respect our weights and measures are intimately connected with our coinage. Economically the two have gone hand in hand throughout the whole course of English history; their inter-dependence, alike in large and small transactions pervading the whole range of commerce, and the entire social life of the people in every age. Hence it is found that at various distinct periods the attempt on the part of the rulers of the nation to improve the one, is also accompanied by an effort to reform the other. An analogy between the coinage and the legal standards is further seen in the fact that the issue of both was in earlier times the distinct act of the sovereign; and also in the further fact, that in all ages, in some form or other, the sovereign's regal impress upon both was the essential sign of authority.

The incidental mention of the Winchester bushel leads me to remark in passing, that it would appear that at one time the Bishop of Winchester, among the other extensive privileges which he enjoyed, exercised jurisdiction in the matter of weights and measures; for it is stated that when the great fair at Winchester was held, the weights and measures in use by those who trafficked, were brought to be tested by the bishop's servants. We should hardly expect now to find a bishop acting as inspector of weights and measures, but, in old times, bishops, as well as mayors, had strange duties to perform; and we shall presently find that even a king did not disdain to personally interest himself in this matter.

In its entirety this is a wide subject, but I shall deal with it only from a restricted point of view, being chiefly guided by the actual specimens now before us. I shall not therefore attempt any explanation of the primitive ideas derived from nature, which, it is popularly thought, formed the basis of lineal measurement; nor need I discuss the

Ancient Standard Weights and Measures. 97

units of the pound and the gallon which regulate those portions of the present system to which they respectively belong. Nor shall I trace, even roughly, the course of legislation on the subject, for that alone would be a tremendous task. It will be sufficient for my purpose to point out that since the fourteenth century there have been three periods that are distinctly marked as periods when the national system of weights and measures underwent complete reform, and it is a remarkable fact that, at least as regards the measures, each of those periods is represented among the specimens in this collection. The periods in question are those of Henry VII., Elizabeth, and George IV. Therefore, until the time of Elizabeth, the standards in use were those of Henry VII., subsequently, up to the time of George IV., the standards were those of Elizabeth, and finally those of George IV., are the standards now in use, and are known as the Imperial Standards—that is, applicable to all parts of our expanded empire. You will, however, see, from the descriptive Schedule of the Bristol collection, appended to this paper, that intermediate issues of standards were frequently made, probably in most reigns, so that in addition to the three sovereigns already referred to as having issued entirely new sets of standards, subsidiary issues of Charles II., William and Mary, George II. and George III. are also represented here; and it is curious that in the case of the bushel measure engraved with the date 1694, and therefore belonging to William and Mary, that particular measure was retained in use under George I., and was re-stamped with the letters G.R.

The national reforms to which reference has been made, were carried out, not with the view of making any alteration in the capacity of the measures, for as you will further see by consulting the Schedule of the standards before you, they have practically remained the same all through, the succession of exact standards being most carefully maintained. Almost everything else has changed as the centuries have

98 *Ancient Standard Weights and Measures.*

rolled by, but these remain unchanged; so that, the capacity of this quart of Elizabeth's time, is exactly the same as the quart of Henry VII., and the same as the imperial quart of George IV. In some cases, as for instance those numbered IV., V., and VIII. in the Schedule, the capacities are slightly less than those of the imperial standards. These, you will observe, are all intermediate standards, between the time of Elizabeth and George IV., and they simply serve to show how variations might creep in from time to time, which it would be the purpose of a general reform to correct.

The most striking feature about our Bristol collection of standards has been already incidentally referred to. It is that in the series of four measures numbered I. in the Schedule, we have standards that go back to the time of Henry VII., that is, to the year 1495, when his principal statute on the subject was promulgated. At first I was inclined to be incredulous on this point, it seemed so unlikely that relics of such a long past age could have been preserved in our midst. But further examination and enquiry leave no room for doubt.

The whole of Henry VII.'s legislation on the subject is exceedingly interesting. Three statutes relating to it were passed at short intervals, the second of which, from its strict and detailed character, and its local bearing, is specially interesting to us. It is dated, as I have said, 1495, and seems to have been brought into existence in consequence of the former statute, dated four years previously, having proved ineffectual in securing the desired uniformity. This statute provides that the cost of supplying the new standards shall be defrayed from the king's purse, which, I suppose, simply means that they were to be provided by the State, instead of out of local funds as in more recent times. The standards are described in the statute as being made of brass, which is probably a general description covering the use of gun-metal or bell-metal such as seems to have been always employed. There seems to have been a difficulty in ensuring that the standards, when

Ancient Standard Weights and Measures. 99

provided, would safely reach the appointed centres in different parts of the kingdom, and therefore, while this statute enumerates forty-three cities and towns as constituting such centres (in which list Bristol occupies its county position, and stands next to London), it further provides that one of each kind of the standards shall, in the case of each town, be delivered to the care of its representative burgesses, or members of parliament, who are made responsible for the safe delivery of them at their respective destinations. That was at the time when the Bristol "parliament-men" were allowed, in the payment of their expenses, four days for the journey between Bristol and Westminster and the same for the return, the rate of payment for the time spent on the road, and for the period during which the parliament sat, being two shillings per day for burgesses and four shillings for knights. This, of course, was according to the money of the period. Having regard to the ponderous character of the specimens before you, it must have been no joke for the returning member to be encumbered with this extra luggage on his long and tedious homeward journey.

On the standards being at last safely delivered, the mayor or other head officer was required to bring them at once into use, in the examination of all weights and measures commonly employed, and this was to be repeated twice a year or oftener. The fees payable for thus verifying the measures in use are prescribed, and so are the penalties for using measures found to be unjust. It will be interesting to members of the legal profession to know that the penalties were inflicted according to a scale with which we are all familiar, although not in this particular connection; for the first offence a fine of 6s. 8d. was levied, for the second offence 13s. 4d., and for the third 20s., with the addition in the latter case of something with which we are happily not familiar, namely lodgment in the pillory "to thensample of other." The act also specifies *how* the measures for public use were to be certified. The language

100 *Ancient Standard Weights and Measures.*

is very peculiar and involved, but it evidently means that the local officer was to use a special "mark or seal," and in addition the letter H crowned was "to be printed to Signe and print, taking for marking of every bushell j. d." and for smaller measures a less amount. You will observe in the Schedule, that the four standard measures in our number I. group, which are referred to the time of Henry VII., are described as being all stamped on the rim with the letters h.R. under a crown, the device being clearest on the largest of the measures called "a wine pottle." Some other interesting peculiarities in this set of standards are noted in the Schedule, which I need not further allude to here.

Whatever may have been Henry VII.'s faults in other directions, he must be credited with a genuine desire to benefit his country by putting its system of weights and measures upon a proper footing, unless, indeed, it can be shewn that even this was intended chiefly for his own benefit. However that may be, the evidence of his personal interest in this subject is undeniable, and is curiously preserved in an old illumination in the Harleian collection, which is reproduced in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii. The king is there represented as superintending the proof of the standards in his Exchequer Chamber, his responsible officers and their assistants being all busily at work under his own direction.

The weights and measures reform which was instituted by Queen Elizabeth was brought into operation at the end of that queen's long and brilliant reign. The date 1601 is on the Elizabethan quart measure in our collection. (See Plate.) That was the actual date of the issue of the new standards, and in the following year the queen died. A different mode of procedure was adopted in this case, as compared with the others, inasmuch as instead of an Act or Acts of Parliament the authority was given by proclamation, and it was directed that the new standards should be delivered to fifty-eight cities and towns instead of forty-three.



STANDARD QUART, A.D. 1601.



STANDARD QUARTER PINT (CHAS. II.)

PLATE VII.

as in the previous instance under Henry VII. I have not been able to consult this proclamation, but no doubt Bristol was again included in the list.

With regard to the last great reform of the weights and measures system, by which the present imperial system came to be finally established, less authoritative, and to that extent less interesting specimens are furnished in the set of five measures, graduated from the quart to the half gill, which are numbered IX. in the Schedule. They differ from all the others in the fact that they are without date, stamp or legend of any kind. Being comparatively modern and strictly imperial in capacity, they may without hesitation be regarded as belonging to the George IV. period. On account of the treatment they have undergone, Mr. Vining, our late Inspector of Weights and Measures, considered it most likely that they were used as office working standards rather than special standards of reference. In this way they have evidently had constant use for verification purposes. The rim of the quart is hammered up and the bottom hammered out to increase the capacity. The bottom of the pint is hammered up to lessen capacity. The bases of the gill and half gill shew hammer markings, and the base of the half pint is soldered up.

Having thus specially dealt with the measures belonging to what may be called the three periods of reform, I must not attempt to enlarge upon the other specimens, but must leave the Schedule to supply detailed information as to the peculiarities of these intermediate pieces. I must, however, draw attention to the engraving of the Royal Arms and the Bristol Arms, on the quarter pint measure numbered III. and dated 1677. The engraving covers a considerable portion of the exterior of this interesting little measure, and is beautifully executed. (See Plate.)

The two Winchester bushels will attract attention on account of their massiveness and the local significance of their inscriptions. There appears to have been a rule according to which these bushel measures were always shaped.

The rule was that the diameter should be double the depth; those proportions being chosen because they were fitted to ensure accuracy and justice in the measurement of corn. In these two examples the principle is adhered to, but not exactly, the diameter or spread of the vessels being more than double the depth. Such a deviation would even better serve the purpose kept in view.

The set of three measures numbered V. in the Schedule and the single half-gallon measure numbered VI., belong to the time of George II. [1749], while the gallon wine measure numbered VII., belongs to that of George III. [1787].

The total number of these measures is eighteen, and considering the scarcity of old standards of the kind, it is remarkable that the Museum authorities should be in possession of so large a number. In the most recent work on the subject,¹ only two towns are named as possessing such specimens,—Winchester and Norwich, though probably there are others unrecorded.² Still, the ancient standards are certainly rare, and the reason is this—when new standards were issued the old ones were carefully recalled. The third statute on the subject of Henry VII. is most explicit on this point, a heavy penalty being imposed for the non-return of the obsolete standards. The Act specifies that the object of their return was that they might be “dampned (= condemned) and broken,” and melted down for the making of new standards. As a matter of fact none previous to Henry VII. are known to be in existence, and of those which belonged to that period and later, even when not returned as required by statute, considering how conveniently they might be converted into old metal, it is not surprising that so few have escaped the hand of the spoiler. It is only recently that this collection has been brought together and placed in our Museum, where it forms an interesting contribution to our local history. Until attention was called

¹ *Our Weights and Measures*, H. J. Chaney.

² See note at end—Addendum.

to the existence of these specimens they were scattered about and greatly in danger of being lost. No one seemed to realise that they were of any historical value or significance. The collection as a whole embraces not only the measures of capacity, which have been referred to, but also two brass standard yard measures of uncertain date, and four sets of bell-shaped weights, the earliest of which are of the time of Charles II. and others of George II. and George III., the dates, stamps, and other peculiarities being fully given in the Schedule. In bringing my paper to a close, I would call attention to the peculiarity of the No. IV. set of two weights, the one being marked on the handle "4^{lb}—5^{oz}—8^{dr} Avoir," and the other "2^{lb}—2^{oz}—12^{dr} Avoir," there being no date or further legend. My knowledge of the tables of weights and measures and the uses to which these weights were put, does not enable me to understand why these divisions are adopted.

ADDENDUM.

Some further enquiry into the existence of similar ancient standards in towns other than those mentioned above (Winchester and Norwich), has resulted in other instances being brought to light. It is probable the list might be yet further extended, and an effort might well be made to complete it as far as possible.

Of course, in the Standards' Department of the Board of Trade which is located in the neighbourhood of Westminster Abbey, one would naturally expect to find such relics of the past. The department in fact has its own museum, and among its treasures are the following:—A standard penny weight of the fourteenth century; an octagonal yard measure, marked g , of Henry VII.; a bushel and gallon of the same reign. There is also an ale quart of Queen Elizabeth, and an exchequer yard and exchequer ell of that reign, all these being dated 1601. Elizabeth's standards preserved here include also troy weights from

104 *Ancient Standard Weights and Measures.*

256 oz. down to $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; and avoirdupois standards from 112 lbs. down to 1 lb. The reign of Queen Anne is represented by a standard wine gallon which was legalised in 1707.

In the Albert Museum at Exeter, there is preserved an old exchequer-stamped weight of 14 lbs., avoirdupois, of Henry VII.

At Lancaster attention was recently drawn to a number of interesting specimens, on the occasion of the visit of the Members of the Royal Archæological Institute. Here are both weights and measures of the time of Elizabeth. The weights are twelve in number, all dated 1588. There are three measures consisting of "a large circular measure," a corn gallon, and an ale quart, all dated 1601.

At Bridport there is an ancient gallon measure, called "a Beare or Ale galon," stamped in five places with the letter \S . This appears to have been tested in 1659, when that date, and a long inscription respecting the circumstances under which "this gailon was sized and sealed in the Tower of London," were added.

Derby possesses another Elizabethan measure with the ornaments of the period, and the date 1601.

At Cambridge there is a gallon measure with the Royal Arms of the Stuart period, the armorial insignia of the town, and the following inscription:—"The Standard of the Town of Cambridge 1646."

Descriptive Schedule.

STANDARD MEASURES.


No. I.—Set of FOUR MEASURES.

A one-handled plain cylindrical measure, engraved in front, “∴ A : WINE : POTTLE ∴”.

A one-handled plain cylindrical measure, engraved in front, “∴ A : WINE : QVART ∴”.

A plain cylindrical measure, engraved in front, “∴ A : WINE : PINTE ∴”, with circular stamp behind.

A plain cylindrical measure, engraved in front, “∴ A : WINE : HALFE : PINTE ∴”, with circular stamp behind.

The rims of these four measures are all stamped with the initials  h R under a crown, best preserved on the pottle. In each case the letter “E” at the end of the word “WINE” was first cut “D,” and was afterwards altered to “E.”

Temp. Henry VII. (1495).


No. II.—A single one-handled measure, bearing in front, in raised characters, the date 1601, the Royal initials E.R. with crown above being on each side of the date. The rim is stamped with the initial E under a crown, and the letters C B are stamped on the bottom. Capacity the same as an imperial quart measure. (See Plate.) *Temp.* Elizabeth.

No. III.—A single one-handled measure, bearing the date “1677” engraved in front, and below the date, the words “A Wine Quarter of a Pint.” On one side are the Royal Arms, with crown over and the Royal initials “C. $\frac{2}{3}$ R,” and on the other the Bristol City Arms. (See Plate.) *Temp.* Charles II.




No. IV.—A massive two-handled Winchester Bushel Measure, marked in relief on a raised band round the middle of the measure. Also, on the upper part of this raised band, the letters E.E. “CIVITAS · BRISTOLL ·

106 *Ancient Standard Weights and Measures.*

THOMAS · DAY · ESQ · MAYO¹ · ANNO · DOMINI, 1694.”²

Rim stamped G. † R., ^{G.R.}_{III.}, and  ³ Capacity 60 cubic inches less than an imperial bushel.


Temp. William and Mary.

No. V.—Set of THREE TWO HANDLED MEASURES ENGRAVED “CIVITAS BRISTOL 1749”; the two larger measures stamped on the rim with  and dagger +, the smallest one with  and  *Temp.* George II.


(a) Capacity 29 cubic inches less than imperial half bushel.

(b) Capacity 15 cubic inches less than imperial peck.

(c) Capacity 5 cubic inches less than imperial gallon.

No. VI.—A single cylindrical measure, engraved “CIVITAS BRISTOL 1749.” The rim is stamped with  and dagger +. Capacity—imperial half gallon.

Temp. George II.

No. VII.—A single cylindrical measure, engraved “1 Gallon Wine MEASURE 1787.” The rim is stamped  similar to but smaller than No. VI. *Temp.* George III.

No. VIII.—A massive two - handled Winchester Bushel Measure, engraved, in front:—

“ROBERT CASTLE ESQ^R
MAYOR
BRISTOL STANDARD 1803
CORN.”




and, behind, the City Arms. Rim impressed with ten stamps,

¹ “Mayo,” contraction for “Mayor.”

² The letters and figures on this vessel are stamped on singly or in small sets. The initials on the rim appear to have been stamped on it during the reigns of George I. (or II.) and George III.

³ Formerly the Exchequer and now the Board of Trade stamp.

Ancient Standard Weights and Measures. 107

  +  Capacity 60 cubic inches less than an imperial bushel. *Temp.* George III.

No. IX.—A set of FIVE CYLINDRICAL MEASURES, NOT MARKED.

Capacities the same as the imperial quart, pint, half pint, gill and half gill measures. *Temp.* George IV. (1824).

STANDARD YARD MEASURES.

No. I.—A BRASS YARD MEASURE; A SQUARE-SIDED BAR, HOLLOWED OUT ABOVE AND BELOW, WITH SQUARE KNOBS AT THE ENDS.






This appears to be the older of the two measures, but it has no date or other indication of its age.

No. II.—A BRASS YARD MEASURE, ENGRAVED
CITY | IMPERIAL (City Arms) STANDARD YARD | OF
BRISTOL

This bar has its upper edges bevelled, and octagonal knobs at the ends. *Temp.* (Apparently modern).

STANDARD WEIGHTS.

No. I.—Set of THREE BELL-SHAPED WEIGHTS WITH HANDLES.

Denomination "VII" (7 lbs.), stamped   
on handle, and  and  on each side on the top of bell.


Denomination "IIII." (4 lbs.), stamped on each side of the top of the bell with the same marks as on the handle of the 7 lb. weight.

Denomination "II." (2 lbs.). The same marks but differently arranged on the bell.

Temp. Charles II. (1649-1684).




108 *Ancient Standard Weights and Measures.*

No. II.—Set of Two WEIGHTS OF THE SAME SHAPE AS THE ABOVE.

Denomination "IIII." ($\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.), stamped on each side on the top of bell between two small circular stamps, and two small circular stamps on the handle; on front lower rim of bell engraved with what appears to be a merchant mark, with the initials W.B. and date 1738. 

Denomination "II." (2 lbs.), stamped and dated the same as the above $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. weight. *Temp.* George II.

No. III.—Set of SIX WEIGHTS.

Denomination "56^{lb} Avoir"  engraved on handle, stamped  and a small  on the top of bell, and engraved "CITY OF BRISTOL 1801" on the lower rim of bell.

Denomination "28^{lb} Avoir "

Denomination "14^{lb} Avoir "

Denomination "7^{lb} Avoir "

Denomination "4^{lb} Avoir "

Denomination "1^{lb} Avoir "

} All stamped, dated
and located the same
as the above.

Temp. George III.

No. IV.—Set of Two WEIGHTS.

Denomination "4^{lb} 5^{oz} 8^{dr} Avoir " } Engraved on handle with-
Denomination "2^{lb} 2^{oz} 12^{dr} Avoir " } out further title or date.

Temp. (Apparently modern).

Ancient Bristol Documents.

No. XV.

**A Deed relating to the partition of the property of
St. James's Priory, Bristol.**

BY JOHN LATIMER.

(Read October 21st, 1898.)

As no early description of the monastic buildings of this Benedictine house or of the priory estates has hitherto been published, and as nearly the whole of its property was situated in Bristol and the suburbs, an authentic account of both, drawn up within forty years of the Dissolution of the Monasteries may not be without interest. The information is derived from an apparently contemporary copy (now in the possession of our Honorary Secretary) of a Deed of Partition, executed in 1579 by Sir Charles Somerset and George Winter, Esq., to whom the estate—subject as to certain portions to a life interest—belonged by right of their wives.

As all local antiquaries are aware, the church of the priory, with the buildings from which the monks had been ejected, and the lands belonging to the convent, were granted by Henry VIII. in January, 1544—just three years after their surrender by the last Prior, Robert Circester—to Henry Brayne, a London tailor and church plunder-broker, in consideration of a ready-money payment of £667 7s. 6d., and a yearly reserved rent of £3 10s. 9½d. That the purchase money was enormously below the real value of the property is proved by the fact that a valuation made by agents of the Crown, two or three years before the suppression, set out the yearly profits of the priory lands at £55 7s. 4d.,

without taking into account the advowsons of five parish churches in the city (which were purchased by the Corporation in 1627 for £450), the advowsons and tithes of Mangotsfield and Stapleton, and the value of the extensive monastic buildings, which, as will presently be seen, stretched over the great space from the west end of the present church to the eastern end of what is now St. James's Barton. In the king's grant to Brayne, the entire estate, including also the site of the monks' church, was coolly asserted to be of the yearly value of only £35 6s. 8d.

On the death of the lucky purchaser, the property descended to his only son, Robert Brayne, who died without issue, leaving his sisters, Eme and Ann, joint coheirresses, subject to the jointure of his widow, Goodith. Eme Brayne, after the demise of her first husband, one Morgan, of Newport, married Sir Charles Somerset, a younger son of the Earl of Worcester, while her sister Ann became the wife of George Winter, Esq., of Dyrham and Hinton, a member of a then wealthy family in Gloucestershire; and those two gentlemen seem to have lost little time in dividing the estate between them.

Before the priory fell into the hands of the spoiler, the present tower of St. James's Church marked nearly the centre of the original edifice, the nave, or western half, which still remains, being the church of the parish, maintained by the parishioners, while the choir, or eastern limb, described by William Worcester in one note as forty steps, and in another as twenty-six steps in length, was reserved for the monks and the monastic retainers. There was also at the eastern end a Lady's Chapel, which Worcester describes as being sixty-three feet in length, but its precise site cannot now be determined. Immediately after the suppression, the king's agents, according to their universal custom in such cases, despoiled the priory church and the Lady's Chapel, and stripped off the leaden roofs, leaving the elements to complete the work of destruction. The process was rapid, for Leland, who visited Bristol only three or four

years after the Dissolution, states that the desecrated buildings "hard buttynge to the este end of the parochie churche" were then in ruins—in which state they were long allowed to remain. Brayne, however, dealt vigorously with the monastic buildings proper—the cloisters, chapter house, dormitory, refectory, buttery, etc., situated on the north side of the church, which erections had also been stripped of their leaden roofs by the royal commissioners—and these he transformed into a "capital mansion house or manor place" for his own residence.

The description of this dwelling forms the most interesting feature of the subjoined deed. It will be seen that Mr. Winter allotted to himself the western half of the mansion, including the "great hall," which is likely to have been the ancient refectory, with the chambers over the same, extending to the west end of a "long gallery" that "joineth to the church there" (which seems to indicate the dormitory), and the rooms over this gallery. He also took the "great green court" on which the above buildings looked, and which one may fairly assume was the garth of the cloisters, together with a great and a little stable, a brewhouse, and a bakehouse, entered from the court, indicating the base uses to which the cloister buildings had already been degraded. He next appropriated the "great gatehouse" of the priory, and a garden lying between the west end of the parish church and the gatehouse, from which description it seems unquestionable that the ancient portal fronted the public street, at a point nearly opposite to the eastern end of Lewin's Mead. Winter next allots—it will be observed that throughout the deed he does all the allotting—the "backer part" or eastern portion of the mansion house to Sir Charles Somerset, who, though deprived of the state apartments, received a much larger extent of ground and buildings. This "back part" included a parlour, all the rooms, galleries, and chambers eastward of the great hall, a "little square green court" lying behind the mansion—presumably a second and smaller cloister, as was not uncommon—another piece of ground

containing a dove-house, adjoining the parlour, all the barton lying further eastward, extending from the east end of the church to the gate in Barr's Lane, two great barns, a number of outbuildings of which the character is undescribed, and finally the monastic pound adjoining the eastern gate. It will be seen that the mansion house and all the above appurtenances were, when the deed was executed, in the occupation of John Seymour, Esq., in right of his wife, the widow of Robert Brayne, who had settled them upon her for life.

Turning to the lands of the former priory, Mr. Winter allots to himself five fields lying to the north of the mansion, one of which is called the Mountagues, another, the Upper Mountagues, and a third, Kingsdown. He next takes a number of closes lying between the Barrs and the Froom, one of which is called Horse Churchyard, and another, Great Earl's Mead, near which was a mill called Bagpath's Mill (Earl's Mead and Bagpath's Mill¹ occur in the perambulations of William Worcester, and from his description of the locality

¹ In the twelfth century the Bagpaths were probably a Gloucestershire family of some importance; they have left their name to a hamlet and a parish on the Cotswolds, near Wotton-under-Edge. Matthew de Bagpath (Bagepeye) and Gunnilda his wife held half of Nuveton (now Newington-Bagpath) in 12 Henry II. (A.D. 1166).—Fosbrooke's *Gloucestershire*, i., 417. Later they seem to have come down in the social scale, and for some generations are recorded as mill-owners. In 1260-61 Richard de Baggepath rented a mill of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, at "Sutcherd" (South Chard).—*Somerset Record Society*, vii., ii., 37; *Wells Cathedral MSS.*, page 69. "John Bagpath" is named as one of the executors in the will of John Muleward, burgess of Bristol, dated June, 1398, and as there are certain legacies of flour, it is probable both were millers. The flour to be received weekly from "Leonard's Mill." "John Bagpath" is also named as executor in the will of Edward Tanner, dated November, 1404. In January, 1418, "Henry Bagpath" is mentioned in the will of Adam Inhyn, of Bristol, as occupying a messuage on "le Were."—Wadley's *Bristol Wills*, Nos. 100, 135, and 193.—Ed.

it seems certain that the modern name of Baptist's Mill is a corruption of the original title). Winter further allots himself certain closes and open ground, the names of which are now unknown, together with a "great ground called Further Ashley," bounded by Glass Mill¹ on the south and part of Horfield parish on the north, add also an enclosed ground called Prior's Hill, which must have been a continuation westward of Further Ashley, in the direction of what is now Montpelier. A number of tenements and fields, in Barton Hundred, one plot being styled Cheese Lane Mead and two being spoken of as in King's [St. Philip's] Marsh, are next appropriated, together with the lease of the parsonage and tithes of St. Philip's parish, the rectory of St. James's parish, the royalty of fishing from Stapleton Bridge to Bristol Castle (a right, by the way, which the Corporation yearly repudiated), a few chief rents, a house in Lewin's Mead, a plot on St. Michael's Hill, and various small properties at Acton, Hanham, Conham, and Mangotsfield, the advowson of the last mentioned parish, the manor of Wick, and two closes at Clifton. Finally, the profits of the great Bristol Fair held at St. James's tide, of the Piepowder Court of that fair, and of the prisage of wines entering the port of Bristol during Whitsun week—three especial privileges of the Priory—were equally partitioned it being arranged that Somerset should enjoy them in 1579, and Winter in 1580, and so on in alternate years "for evermore."

Having determined his own share of the inheritance, Mr. Winter proceeds in the same masterful manner to allot the portion to be enjoyed by Sir Charles Somerset. The

¹ I have identified this place by the help of the Corporation Records. It is the disused mill still standing in the valley below Ashley Hill, a little to the south of the railway station. It appears from the post-mortem inquest, held in 1639, as to the estate of Winter's grandson, Sir George Winter, then lately deceased, that "Farther Ashleys" consisted of a house and 100 acres of land.

division of the Manor Place has been already dealt with. Ten closes of land on the southern slope of Kingsdown, and on the hill itself are first bestowed, and from the descriptions it will be seen that another Prior's Hill existed in this locality. The pasture so named was of considerable length, stretching from the Mountagues eastward, and it may be safely assumed that the Prior's Hill Fort so notable in the second siege of Bristol, and which is known to have overlooked the northern part of Stoke's Croft, obtained its name from this meadow. A plot of arable land called Upper Barnsdall, "wherein there is a conduit," may possibly indicate the site of what a later generation styled "Mother Pugsley's Well." The next allotment consists of a great number of closes, many near Earl's Mead, one of which is named Beggar's Well, wherein was a spring mentioned by William Worcester. The description of another close, Stoke's Croft, shows the purely rural character of the northern suburb in the reign of Elizabeth. Stoke's Croft contained "one little lodge and a garden plot" at the entrance; all the rest of its area was pasture. Several other fields lay on or near Ashley Down, the eastern Prior's Hill occurring again. A water mill is also mentioned, called "Green's Mill or Grove Mill," probably the Hook's Mill of later days. Proceeding to the Barton Hundred estate, a number of houses are allotted, which are described as having commonable rights, though nothing is said as to the whereabouts of the common. The well known Lamb Inn at Lawford's Gate, two meadows in King's Marsh, and the advowson of St. Philip's Church are also included in this category. Then follows a lot of interesting chief rents due from the Corporation, Sir George Norton (for his Great House near St. Peter's Church), Sir Richard Berkeley, and others; and to these succeed the advowsons of St. Peter's, Christ Church, St. James's, St. Ewen's, and St. Michael's, the tithes of St. James's parish, and houses, gardens, etc., in Broadmead, St. James's Back, Lewin's Mead, Rotten Row, Turn-again Lane, Merchant Street, Silver Street, St. Michael's Hill, and Tinker's

Close. Some houses, land, and chief rents at Cattybrook, Itchington, Stapleton, Mangotsfield, Wick, and Crooks Marsh with the advowson of Stapleton, and the moiety of the profits of St. James' Fair, and the wine prisage, complete the apportionment of the priory estate.

The partition deed also deals with the manor of Staunton and with other lands in the counties of Gloucester and Monmouth, which the two brothers-in-law also held as part of Brayne's estate; but this portion of the instrument was given *verbatim* in the "History of the Manor of Staunton," by Sir John Maclean, printed in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, vol. vii, pp. 238—242. The details are of no interest as regards the present paper, the estate in the Forest of Dean having never belonged to St. James's Priory. The manor of Staunton was purchased about 1552, by Henry Brayne, from one Robert Saunders, who is supposed to have married the heiress of the Stauntons of Staunton, a family that had held the estate for upwards of four hundred years.

It may be of some interest, perhaps, to sketch the subsequent history of the St. James's estate. Sir Charles Somerset had an only daughter, who married Sir Charles Radcliff Gerrard, and their son, Sir Charles, becoming possessed of the Somerset moiety in right of his mother, sold to the Corporation, in 1627, for £450 the advowsons of the city parishes already mentioned, the alternate years' wine prisage, a chief rent issuing out of St. James's churchyard, and the parochial tithes. The lands appear to have been disposed of to various persons. Mr. Winter, the owner of the other moiety, appears at a very early period to have contemplated the sale of the property. It is remarkable, indeed, that on September 12th, 1571, more than seven years before the date of the Deed of Partition, he procured Queen Elizabeth's letters patent under the great seal, granting him and his wife permission to alienate a moiety of the St. James's estate, the extent of which is magnified in an extraordinary fashion, the advowson of St.

Nicholas's parish for example—to which the Priory never had the shadow of a claim—being included in the particulars. As Brayne's heirs held the property as tenants in chief of the Crown, this costly license (the original of which is now in the Museum and Library) was indispensable before a conveyance could be effected; but unless it formed the basis of a mortgage, subsequently redeemed, it had clearly not been acted upon when the partition of 1579 was carried out. Winter had three sons by his wife, the eldest of whom, John, was the companion of Sir Francis Drake in one of his celebrated voyages, and was knighted after his return. He succeeded to the estate on the death of his father in 1581. Sir John had a son named George who was also knighted, and who, in 1621, made an extraordinary settlement of all his estates, with the view, as he declared, to vest them "in the name and blood of the Winters, and to prevent them passing to any heir female so long as it shall please God that issues male shall have issue male." He was not married when this instrument was executed, but it vested the estates first in himself with remainder in tail male to seven supposititious sons. In default of all these the property was to go to his brother John, then unmarried, with remainder to seven imaginary sons as before; next to his boy brothers Benedict, Henry and Cecill, successively, with remainder to seven sons each; next to his cousin Charles, eldest son of William Winter, of Clapton, Somerset, with remainder to seven sons; next to William and Arthur, brothers of this Charles, successively, and to each of their seven sons as before; next to John Winter, son and heir of Sir Edward Winter, late of Lydney, Gloucestershire (the original seat of the family), with remainder to seven sons; in default, to Robert, Edward, William and Frederick, John's brothers, successively, with remainder to seven sons of each of them. Having exhausted all his male relations and all their possible male descendants, Sir George settled the estates in default on his right heirs. He seems to have been thoroughly in earnest,

for seisin both of the Dyrham and of the St. James's estates was given on the same day, and is recorded in the deed, a copy of which is in the Museum and Library. In the following year, 1622, it appears to have occurred to him that an effort should be made to produce the seven sons with which he had credited himself, and just before his marriage to Mary, daughter of Edward Rogers, of Cannington, he executed a deed creating a jointure for his intended wife, charged on the Dyrham estate, power to do which had been reserved in the above settlement. He died in February, 1639, leaving a son John, aged sixteen years. By the post-mortem inquisition the deceased knight is stated to have possessed, besides Dyrham and Hinton, a moiety of 16 messuages, 4 gardens, 2 water mills, 300 acres of land, 120 acres of meadow, and £3 0s. 8d. rent in St. James's, 16 acres of meadow in Earl's Mead, 5 houses in Barton Hundred, property at Iron Acton, Mangotsfield and Hanham, 100 acres in Farther Ashley and the rectory of St. Philip, together with small estates at Wyke and Charlton, held of the heirs of Sir Ralph Sadleir, with whom Henry Brayne had been closely allied at the time of the monastic spoliation. His heir, John, made short work of the portentous deed of settlement, a notable example of the folly of human expectations. Having an only daughter, Mary, who married William Blathwayt, of Cumberland, the entire estate was by some means passed to her and her heirs, and the Dyrham estate is still possessed by her descendants. The Bristol property appears to have been sold piecemeal, probably by John Winter, who lived until 1668. A deed of September, 1669, a copy of which is in the Council House, reveals the transitory magnificence of Henry Brayne's "capital mansion house," some portions of which had by that time, like Young's grand dwelling on St. Augustine's Back and the stately mansion of the Nortons in St. Peter's churchyard, been degraded into a sugar refinery. The description of the property shows the transformation that had taken place. It is described as a messuage, three

gardens and an orchard, and a sugar refining house, warehouse and loft, occupied by Anthony Wood and Godfrey Vonittern, sugar bakers; also a tenement, court, and cellar at the gate of the court commonly called Whitsun Court, adjoining Magdalen Lane, a garden and orchard, and two plots called the Cherry Garden and the Liquorish Garden, in the occupation of the owner of the whole place, Thomas Ellis, merchant; and tenements occupied by seven tenants, "all or most of which premises," adds the deed, "are built upon part of the ground whereon the manor house or priory house of St. James' formerly stood, and were lately (1666) bought by Ellis of John Teage, of London, and Wm. Davis, of Bristol, merchant."

The following transcript faithfully reproduces the spelling of all proper names, as well of persons as of places, appearing in the deed; but all contracted expressions are printed at length, and it has not been thought necessary to follow all the copyist's eccentricities in the spelling of words in ordinary use.

The Partition and division Indented the 27th January in the 21st year of the reign of the sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth by the grace of God of England France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. (1579) Of all the lands tenements and hereditaments lately descended from Robert Braine Esq. deceased unto Dame Eme now the wife of Sir Charles Somersett Knight, and to Anne Winter wife of George Winter Esq. sisters and coheirs of the said Robert Braine made by the said George Winter by [*illegible*] and fully agreed upon by and between the said Sir Charles and the said George Winter by their natural (*sic*) consents and assents into two parts whereof the one is set down Entituled and called by the name of the first part, And the other by the name of the second part OF the which two parts that part which is called by the name of the first part is allotted and laid to be the part of the said George Winter and Ann his wife And the other part which

is called the second part is allotted and laid to be the part of the said Sir Charles Somersett and Dame Eme his wife as follows.

The First Part.

FIRST the said George Winter by his partition hath allotted and laid unto the said first part being the west part of the Manor place or Mansion house of St. James in the county of the City of Bristol, VIZ. the whole great hall from the uppermost end of the same downwards to the lower end with the buttery adjoining to the same and all the chambers and rooms upon the west part of the same house, extending to the side of the west end of the long gallery that joineth to the church there, with all manner of rooms edifices and buildings directly under and above the same hall buttery chambers and rooms ALSO the great green Court adjoining to the same, the great Gatehouse entering by the Churchyard into the said great green Court, together with a dwelling house adjoining to the said Gatehouse, ALSO the great stable within the said green Court The little stable within the said green Court The Brewhouse and Bakehouse near unto the kitchen Door THE little garden adjoining to the same Brewhouse and Bakehouse, And one other garden lying between the west end of the Church there and the said great Gatehouse.

ALSO the little way or lane that leadeth out of the great court by the backside of the brewhouse, to the west part of the gate entering into the way which parteth the Mountigues and Shouters close, ALL which (part ?) of the said Manor house is now in the tenure and occupation of John Seymer Esq. as in the right of Goodithe his wife late wife of the said Robert Brayne.

AND also the said George Winter hath allotted and laid to the first part these parcels of Land meadow and pasture hereafter following now also in the tenure of the said John as in the right of the said Goodithe his wife lying within the counties of the City of Bristol and Gloucester or in one of them, VIZ.

IMPRIMIS one little Close of mead butting upon Maudline Lane and Kingsdowne, Mountigues and Kendaal mead containing by estimation one acre and a half.

ITEM the Close of mead called the upper Mountigues lying between Colver house close Kingsdowne Prior's hill and the Maudline Lane.

ITEM one meadow called the Mountigues adjoining to the said Manor house of St James with a pool and an orchard in the same.

ITEM one meadow called Culverhowse close adjoining to the land of William Goughe Esq. called the Maudlines.

ITEM one Close of mead or pasture called by the name of Kingsdowne lying on the top of the hill extending in length between the Mountigues on the west end and Harpe close on the east and in breadth between (*sic*) with all manner of Tythes hereafter rising growing increasing and renewing of all the said lands, meadows, pastures and hereditaments in the tenure of the said John Seymor as in the right of the said Goodithe.

LANDS meadows pastures and other hereditaments lying in the south side of the lane leading from the barres to the Earls meade in the said county of Bristol and Glouc. or in one of them.

ITEM one piece of ground adjoining to hors Church-yard containing by estimation one quarter of an acre, in the tenure of John Jones or of his assigns.

ITEM two closes of mead in the tenure of Richard Cawse or of his assigns.

ITEM one close with a barn in the tenure of David Jones or of his assigns.

ITEM one meadow called Great Earl's meade in the tenure of Johane Roane or of her assigns.

ITEM one meadow called Little Earl's mead in the tenure of John Warren or of his assigns.

ITEM one lane called Earl's meade lane in the tenure of John Pruett or of his assigns.

ITEM one mead called Galls mead in the tenure of Robert Ufford or of his assigns.

ITEM one mead called Foxholes in the tenure of John Hewerdine or of his assigns.

ITEM one Mill called Baggpathe Mill in the tenure of John Parsons, with all the meadows lands and pastures now in the tenure of the said John or of his assigns with all manner of Tythes hereafter rising growing or increasing of all the lands and hereditaments aforesaid which do lie within the parish of St. James aforesaid.

OTHER LANDS and hereditaments in the County of Bristol or Gloucester or in one of them.

ITEM one open ground of pasture lying between Cooks Croft Longe Lease and the way going by Greens Mill towards Priors Hill in the tenure of Thomas Parker or of his assigns.

ITEM one close of pasture called Wheate Stubbes in the tenure of Thomas Parker or of his assigns.

ITEM two closes of pasture called Great Wheat Stubbes in the tenure of Thomas Parker or of his assigns.

ITEM one close of pasture called Picked close in the tenure of John Simond Spurrier.

ITEM one close of pasture called Sparrowes furlonge in the tenure of William Gittones or of his assigns.

ITEM one close of pasture called Oxlease in the tenure of Slack widow with all manner of tythes hereafter growing increasing or renewing of all the said lands meadows pastures and hereditaments aforesaid.

ITEM all that great ground of pasture called by the name of further Ashley now in the tenure of William Winter the younger or of his assigns or assigns (*sic*) which bordereth upon a mill called Glasse mill of the south part, upon the land of Horfield on the north part, upon higher Asheley and Priors hill of the west part and upon the land of the wilde howse of the east part.

ITEM all that part of a ground inclosed called by the name of Priors hill now in the tenure of the said William Winter the younger or of his assigns or assigns (*sic*) which joineth to Appshard and Oxelease on the west part and

upon higher Ashley upon the north side, and on the south side upon certain land in the tenure of William Gittons, and upon the east part upon three great Mearestones which are newly pitcht up and laid by George Winter in the said Priors hill with all manner of tythes that shall arise grow increase or renew of all that great ground called further Asheley and of all that part called Priors hill.

BARTON hundred within the County of Gloucester.

ITEM one Messuage or tenement in the tenure of Thomas Werrine or of his assigns, with all the lands meadows pastures commons and other the appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM a messuage or Tenement in the tenure of John Winchsome or of his assigns with all the lands meadows pastures commons and other appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM two Messuages or Tenements in the tenure of John Evans or of his assigns with all the lands meadows pastures commons and other appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM two Messuages or Tenements in the tenure of Robert Elliott or of his assigns with all the lands meadows pastures commons and other appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement in the tenure of David Bushe, with all the lands meadows pastures commons and other appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM a Messuage or tenement near Laffords gate with half an acre of meadow in the tenure and occupation of Katherine Williams or of her assigns.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement in the tenure of William Coate or of his assigns, with all the lands meadows pastures commons and other appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM one meadow called Cheeslane mead in the tenure of William Pinck or of his assigns.

ITEM half an acre of mead in Kingsmarshe in the tenure and occupation of David Bushe or of his assigns.

ITEM two acres of mead in Kingsmarshe in the tenure and occupation of John Evans or of his assigns.

ITEM four acres of meadow in Kingsmarshe in the tenure and occupation of John Roe or of his assigns.

ITEM the Parsonage of St. Phillipps now in the tenure and occupation of Robert Smythes gent. and Thomas Ashline yeoman with all the tithes of Corn hay wool and lamb and all other Tithes and Profits whatsoever belonging or in any wise appertaining to the same in such manner as the said Robert and Thomas do hold the same and in no other wise.

ITEM the Royalty of the fishing from Stapletons bridge to the castle Mill of Bristol.

CHIEF RENTS and other hereditaments within the City and Counties of Bristol and Gloucester or in one of them

ITEM out of the Maudline Close iijs.

ITEM of William Pruett for Pennis land
on St. James Back ijs.

ITEM of Thomas Colstoine (*sic*) for his
tenement at the high Cross vs.

ITEM of the heirs of William Greene iijs.

ITEM of Nicholas Thorne gent. for the lands
of the Bartholomewes ijs. vid.

ITEM of Henry Parker for a Tenement
and other land called Eggbrowes land ijs.

ITEM the Patronage of the Rectory or
Church of St. James with the yearly rent or
pension going out of the same vis. viiid.

LEWINS mead in Bristol.

ITEM a Messuage or tenement with the appurtenances
in the tenure of Thomas Girdler or of his assigns.

MICHAELL HILL

ITEM half an acre of mead or pasture lying amongst
the land of William Gorge Esq. called the Maudlines upon
Michaell hill.

ITEM the tolls liberties Royalties Jurisdictions profits and Customs with the fair the Court of Pipowders and prisage of wine of late belonging to the house of St. James for the whitson weeke shall be enjoyed and taken in the whitson week next ensuing the date hereof by him only and to his use, To whom the second part of the said Division and partition shall happen And in like manner the said tolls liberties privileges profits Customs and Jurisdictions with the said Court and Prisage of wines aforesaid for the whitson week which shall be in the year of our Lord god 1580 by him to whom this first part of this Division and partition shall happen and so shall continue for evermore afterwards yearly *Alternis Vicibus* to the said Sir Charles Somersett and George Winter and to their heirs.

ACTON in the County of Gloucester.

ITEM one Messuage or Tenement with a barn of late in the tenure of John Thomas and in the tenure and occupation of Browne or of his assigns, with all the meadows pastures commons and other the appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

HANAM and Conam in the said County of Gloucester.

ITEM two Messuages or Tenements in the tenure of John Warne or of his assigns, with all the lands meadows pastures commons and other appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

MANGERSFIELD in the said County of Gloucester.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement in the tenure and occupation of Thomas Wickham or of his assigns, with all the lands meadows pastures commons and other appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM the Parsonage of Mangersfield with all lands tythes and profits belonging to the same now in the tenure of Thomas Wicham or of his assigns.

ITEM more of the Procters of the parish there for a pension going out of the said Church *xiid.* or a pound of wax.

THE MANOR [of Wick] in the said County of Gloucester.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement called the Manor place of Wicke in the tenure of John Hollister with all lands meadows pastures commons and other appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM all the lands meadows pastures and hereditaments in the occupation of Thomas Arden.

LANDS and hereditaments in Crook marsh in the said county of Gloucester.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement in the tenure of John Phimpenny or of his assigns with all the lands meadows pastures commons and other appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM a messuage or tenement in the tenure or occupation of Johane Westburowe, widow, or of her assigns with all lands meadows pastures commons belonging to the same.

ITEM one meadow in the tenure or occupation of Johane Greene called Barrwick Moore and one acre of meadow in Bisshopps moore with the appurtenances now also in the tenure of the said Johane Greene or of her assigns.

THE parish of Clifton.

ITEM one Close of pasture late in the tenure or occupation of Thomas Hilline or of his assigns near adjoining to Brandon hill.

ITEM one other Close of pasture in the tenure of George Batten or of his assigns.

THE MANOR of Staunton and other lands tenements and hereditaments in the County of Gloucester and Monmothe. (See introduction.)

The Second Part.

FIRST the said George Winter by his partition hath allotted and laid unto the said second part the backer part or east side of the site Manor place or Mansion house of St. James in the County of the City of Bristol VIZ. the rooms from the uppermost part of the hall Eastwards

with the parlor the Chambers in the galleries and the said galleries from the east part of the said Manor house to the west shall be united together with all the rooms edifices and buildings directly under and above the said rooms parlor Chambers and galleries AND also the little square green Court that lieth in the midst of the fore part and backer of the said Manor house AND also all that ground inclosed with a wall adjoining to the said parlor on the east side of the said house wherein standeth a pigeon house with all the barton that extendeth from the gate in Bares lane whereunto the pound is adjoining unto the said East part or backer part of the said Manor house and east part of the Church, together with two great barns, the said pound and all other houses Edifices and buildings which lieth on both sides and within the said barton and inclosed ground AND also the little way that goeth out of the said barton to the stony stile leading to the way that divideth the Mountigues and Shoters close. All which part of the said Manor house is now in the tenure or occupation of John Seymor Esq. as in the right of Goodithe his wife, late wife to the said Robert Brayne.

AND also the said George Winter hath allotted and laid unto the said second part these parcels of land meadow and pasture hereafter following now also in the tenure of the said John as in the right of the said Goodithe his wife lying within the Counties of the city of Bristol and Gloucester or in one of them VIZ.

IMPRIMIS, one Close of pasture called halls croft adjoining to Maudline lane and horfield way.

ITEM one Close of pasture called lower Barnesdall lying by a lane leading to Horfield.

ITEM one close of pasture called the harpe.

ITEM one close of arable land called upper Barnesdall wherein there is a Condite and lyeth in three parts.

ITEM one close of arable land called Whore stone.

ITEM all that close of pasture called Priors hil extending in length from the close called the harpe close to the Mountigues and lyeth in breadth between kingsdowne shooters Close and Shoreston meadow.

ITEM one Close of mead called sheareston adjoining to the harpe Close.

ITEM one Close of mead Tophey wherein standeth a Culver house.

ITEM one close of mead called Shooters Close adjoining to Sheareston Close and Tophey.

ITEM one close called day howse close with all manner of Tythes hereafter rising growing increasing and renewing of all the said lands meadows pastures and hereditaments in the tenure of the said John Seymer as in the right of the said Goodithe.

LANDS meadows and pastures in the Counties of Bristol and Gloucester or in one of them.

ITEM one meadow called Cooks croft in the tenure of John Hewerdine or of his assigns adjoining upon the lands of Thomas Addames.

ITEM two meadows called the Ridelings in the tenure of George Batherome or of his assigns in the which standeth a barn.

ITEM two closes of mead or pasture in the tenure of David Jones or of his assigns abutting upon Earles meade lane, and lying betwixt a mead of George Batherames on the side (*sic*) and a mead of John Pruett on the other side.

ITEM one meadow called Beggers well in the tenure of Mary Jones widow or of her assigns, abutting upon Earles meade lane.

ITEM one Close of meadow in the tenure of David Jones or of his assigns joining upon Earles Earles (*sic*) meade lane lying betwixt a mead of George Batheromes of the one side and a mead of John Pruett of the other side.

ITEM two acres of pasture in a close called Barres lease in the tenure of Walter Bonihame or of his assigns

between the land of Mr. Kingscott of the west side and the land of the said Sir Charles Somerset and George Winter of the East side.

ITEM a barn with two acres of ground in the same close adjoining to the same barn, the barn in the occupation of Sir Charles Somersett and George Winter and the ground in the tenure of Robert Smythe, gent.

ITEM one Close of meadow called ponde close in the tenure of William Warford or of his assigns adjoining upon the north side of the lane leading to Earles meade.

ITEM one close of pasture called Stoks croft with a little lodge and a garden plot in the entry of the same and also a little ragge of ground adjoining to the north side of Stoks croft in the tenure of John Cooke or of his assigns.

ITEM one close of pasture called Mearestone in the tenure of William Warford or of his assigns.

ITEM one meadow called Goose acre in the tenure of the said William Warford or of his assigns.

ITEM one close of pasture called Redfurlonge in the tenure of John Evans or of his assigns.

ITEM a water mill called Greenes mill or Grove mill with the appurtenances and all lands, Tenements and hereditaments now in the tenure of William Greene or of his assigns.

ITEM two little Closes of arable land with a grove in the tenure of Thomas Packer or of his assigns.

ITEM one little close of pasture in the tenure of John Evans or of his assigns adjoining to Stokescroft.

ITEM one meadow under Priors hill called longe lease in the tenure of Thomas Packer or of his assigns.

ITEM one close of pasture called Shereston in the tenure of William Gittones or of his assigns.

ITEM one close of pasture called Ape shard with a little paddock in the tenure of John Hewerdine or of his assigns with all manner of Tythes rising, growing or renewing hereafter of all the lands meadows pastures and hereditaments aforesaid.

ITEM one great pasture inclosed called by the name of higher Asheley or Priors field now in the tenure of William Winter the younger or of his assignee or assigns which boundeth upon the west part on the highway leading from St. James to Horfield on the north side of the lands of Horfield on the south upon Priors hill and on the east upon the land called further Asheley.

ITEM all that part of ground inclosed called by the name of Priors hill now also in the tenure of the said William Winter or of his assigns or assigns joining on the east part upon a grove and the mill called Greenes mill or grove mill upon the south down to a brook adjoining upon a pasture called longe meade on the north upon a pasture called hither Ashley and Shottinge to the west to three great Mearestones, which are newly pitched up and laid by the said George Winter which extendeth from the hedge in the top of the hill down to the brook or water upon Longe meade with all manner of Tythes that shall rise grown increase or renew of all that great pasture called hither Ashley and of all that part of the ground called Priors hill immediately after the determination and end of such lease and leases as were made to the said George Winter thereof amongst other things by the said Sir Charles and Dame Em or by either of them.

BARTON hundred within the County of Gloucester.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement in the tenure of John Wade or of his assigns with all the lands meadows pastures Commons and other the appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM a messuage or Tenement in the tenure or occupation of Thomas Ashline or of his assigns with all the lands meadows pastures Commons and other the appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM all messuages, tenements, barns, lands, meadows, pastures, Commons and other hereditaments in the tenure of Sible Flancett or of her assigns.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement with a backside in the tenure of Johane Hanly or of her assigns with all the lands meadows pastures Commons and other the appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement called the lambe at Laffords gate with one acre of meadow called Checker acre in the tenure of Kite widow or of her assigns.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement in the tenure of Thomas Cory or of his assigns with all the lands meadows pastures Commons and other the appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM four acres of meadow in Kingsmarshe in the tenure of Elizabeth Cooke or of her assigns.

ITEM three acres of meadow in the Kingsmarshe in the tenure of John Dye or of his assigns.

ITEM the Patronage of the vicarage of St. Phillipps within the City of Bristol.

CHIEF RENTS and other hereditaments within the City and County of Bristol and Glouc. or in one of them.

ITEM of the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of Bristol for the back hawle - vjs. viijd.

ITEM of the hospital of the Trinity at Laffords gate for Bastables rents - xijjs. iiijd.

ITEM of the Hospital of the three Kings of Cullen or Almshouse there - iijs.

ITEM of Hugh Brooke Esq. for two tenements in St. Mary porte street in the tenure of William Gibbes and Richard Stones - xijjs. iiijd.

ITEM of Thomas Rowland for three tenements in Smallstreet - xs.

ITEM of Sir George Nortone Knight for his house in St. Peters Churchyard viijs.

ITEM of Robert Rickards for his lands on St. James Back - xijd.

ITEM of Walter Glissone for his Lodge by Earles meade lane -	viijd. i lb. wax.
ITEM of the heirs of William Appowell for a Tenement before the Castle of Bristol late in the tenure of Nicholas Freeman -	xvjd.
ITEM the Procters of St. Philipps for a Tenement in the old market -	ixd.
ITEM of John Sackfield for Seymors garden by Reddcrosse -	viijd.
ITEM of Mathew Smythe Esq. for glase mill -	xijd.
ITEM of Sir Richard Barkeley Knight for his part of the Manor of Ridgeway -	iiis. iiijd.
ITEM of Mathew Smythe Esq. for his part of the Manor of Ridgeway -	vis. iid.
ITEM of John Satchfield for his part of the Manor of Ridgeway and for Seymors close	iijs. xid.
ITEM of Raphe Dowle for Whites Tene- ment in the Old market -	viijs.
ITEM of Nicholas Corsbye for Bagotts tene- ment in Sope lane -	iijs.
ITEM of the heirs of William Kingscott gent. -	xiijs. iiijd.

CHIEF RENTS and other hereditaments.

ITEM the patronage of the Rectory or Church of St. Peters with the yearly rent or pension going out of the same -	xxs.
ITEM the patronage of the Rectory or Church of Christ Church with the yearly rent or pension going out of the same -	xs.
ITEM the patronage of the Rectory or Church of St. James with the yearly rent or pension going out of the same -	xiijs. iiijd.
ITEM the patronage of the Rectory or Church of St. Tewens with the yearly rent or pension going out of the same -	j lb. wax.

ITEM the patronage of the Rectory or Church of St. Michaels with the yearly rent or pension going out of the same - iiijs.

ITEM the parsonage of St. James with all manner of Tythes profits and commodities to the same belonging except such tythes profits and commodities as be lotted and appointed to the first part of the division and partition aforesaid.

TENEMENTS and other hereditaments in the parish of St. James aforesaid in the City of Bristol.

BRODEMEADE in Bristol.

ITEM one Messuage or Tenement with the appurtenances in the tenure of Henry Coltor.

SAINT James Back in Bristol.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement with the appurtenances in the tenure of Julian Penn widow or of her assigns late in the tenure of Thomas Rickards.

LEWENS meade in Bristol.

ITEM three Messuages or Tenements with the appurtenances late in the tenure of Alice Blase or of her assigns.

ITEM one Messuage or Tenement with the appurtenances in the tenure of Geiles Roe or of his assigns late in the tenure of John Roche.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement next adjoining with the appurtenances in the tenure of Alice Hassell widow or of her assigns.

ITEM two Messuages or tenements with the appurtenances in the tenure of Johane Swaine or of her assigns.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement with the appurtenances in the tenure of William Robbins or of his assigns.

ITEM three Messuages or tenements with the appurtenances in the tenure of William Ride or of his assigns.

ITEM a Messuage or tenement with the appurtenances in the tenure of Giles Roe or of his assigns.

A STREET called Rotten Rowe.

ITEM two Messuages or Tenements now fallen down.

THE lane leading to Earles meade to [from ?] the barres.

ITEM a lodge a garden and one orchard in the tenure of William Pruett or of his assigns.

TURNER againe lane.

ITEM two Messuages or Tenements and two gardens in the tenure of William Warford or of his assigns.

MARCHANT Street and silver street by the barres.

ITEM one garden there in the tenure of William Parfett or of his assigns.

ITEM one garden in the tenure of Giles Roe.

ITEM one garden in the tenure of John Buroughes.

ITEM three Messuages or Tenements there and one garden in the tenure of William Capper or of his assigns.

ITEM one Messuage or Tenement and a garden in the tenure of Thomas Packer or of his assigns.

ITEM one garden in the tenure of Johane Bellengame or of her assigns.

ITEM one garden near St. James Churchyard and joining to the way going between the Churchyard and the Barton in the tenure of Roger Heynes or of his assigns.

THE parish of St. Michael hill in the City of Bristol.

ITEM one close of pasture adjoining to Povames Barne upon Michael hill late in the tenure of Edmond Joanes and now in the tenure of Jones or of her assigns.

ITEM three other Closes with a tenement that is to say one close called Tinkers close joining to the land of Cristofer Kenn, and two other Closes on that side of the way near Michael hill in the tenure of the said Jones widow or of her assigns and all other lands and hereditaments whatsoever upon the said hill in the tenure of the said Jones widow.

ITEM one acre of mead or pasture in the tenure of Thomas Chester or of his assigns adjoining to a lodge of his upon Michael hill with a little lodge upon the same.

CADIBROOKE within the County of Gloucester.

ITEM of John Hollister for a Chief rent
paid by Edward Veale gent. - - ijs. in capons

ITEM of Walter Hanghame for hills land xij*d*.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement in the tenure of William Pearce with all the lands meadows pastures Commons and other the appurtenances with the same occupied and used.

ITEM a Teathing late in the tenure of
Mauris Bartlott - - - - - iijs.

ITCHINGTON within the County of Gloucester.

ITEM three Messuages or Tenements, VIZ. the tenement in the tenure of Richard Pullen, The tenement in the tenure of Thomas Cullimore, the tenement in the tenure of Robert Legg, with all the lands meadows pastures Commons and other the appurtenances belonging to the same tenements.

STAPLETON within the County of Gloucester.

ITEM the parsonage of Stapleton with all tythes profits and Commodities belonging to the same now in the tenure and occupation of John Warren or of his assigns.

ITEM certain lands with the appurtenances in the tenure and occupation of John Curtis or of his assigns called by the name of Mounks furlonge.

ITEM of the Procters of the Church of Stapleton called St. Giles for a pension due out the same two pounds of wax.

MANGERSFILD within the County of Gloucester.

ITEM a Messuage or tenement and garden with the appurtenances in the tenure and occupation of Oswald Watkins or of his assigns.

ITEM a Messuage or Tenement with a garden in the tenure of Richard Cooke with all lands meadows pastures and other the appurtenances with the same Commonly occupied and used.

ITEM all the lands called by the name of East land

with a little grove adjoining to the same in the tenure and occupation of Thomas Packer or of his assigns.

ITEM one Cottage there in the tenure of Harry Bumham or of his assigns.

ITEM the tolls, liberties, Royalties, Jurisdications, profits and Customs with the Fair the Court of Pipowders and prisage of wine of late belonging to the house of St. James for the Whitson week shall be joynd [enjoyed] and taken in the Whitson week next ensuing the date hereof by him only and to his use to whom this second part of this division and partition shall happen And in like manner the said tolls liberties privileges profits Customs and Jurisdications with the fair Court and prisage of wine for the Whitson week shall be enjoyed and taken in the Whitson which shall be in the year of our Lord god 1518 [1580] by him to whom the first part of this division and partition shall happen and so shall continue forever more *Altermis* (sic) *Vicibus* to the said Sir Charles and George Winter and to their heirs.

THE Manor of Wicke in the County of Gloucester.

ITEM one Messuage or Tenement in the tenure of Thomas Cox or of his assigns with all the lands meadows pastures Commons parts and Purparts and other the appurtenances with the same Commonly occupied and used.

ITEM one Messuage or tenement in the tenure of Thomas Hirimman or of his assigns with all lands meadows pastures Commons and other the appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

ITEM two closes of arable land called Hoops Croft in the tenure of John Gee or of his assigns and all other lands meadows pastures and Commons now in the tenure of the said John.

ITEM two acres of mead in the tenure of William Bundy or of his assigns lying in Apledram.

ITEM one meadow in the tenure of William Haines or of his assigns called Frydaies in Chittend.

CHIEF RENTS within the said Manor of Wike.

ITEM of Thomas Wesborowe for a Chief
rent xiid.
ITEM of Anthony Wicke for a Chief rent *ilb.* Comen.
ITEM of John Hunte for a Chief rent *ilb.* of Comen.
ITEM of Harry Webb of Awckly for a
Chief rent out of a Tenement there xviii. vid.
ITEM of Mauris Hill for the like xviii. vid.

LANDS in Crooks marsh in the County of Gloucester.

ITEM one Messuage or Tenement in the tenure and occupation of William Dymocke or of his assigns with all the lands meadows pastures Commons and other the appurtenances with the same commonly occupied and used.

THE MANOR of Staunton and other lands Tenements and hereditaments in the County of Gloucester and Monmothe. [See *ante*, p. 115.]

MOREOVER there is allotted and assigned to this Second Part of the division and partition aforesaid all rents, reversions, services, and other duties whatsoever reserved or due upon any demise or grant heretofore made of the lands, tenements and hereditaments or of any part thereof allotted to this second part of the said division and partition by lease or Indenture for term of life or for lives, for term of year or years at will, or by Copy of Court roll according to the Custom of any Manor whereof the same is parcel And also all such Courts, leets, law days, perquisites of Courts, Royalties, Jurisdictions, liberties, profits, and Commodities whatsoever as to the said lands, tenements and hereditaments allotted to this second part of the said division and partition being accounted and accepted for the moiety or one half of all the said lands, tenements and hereditaments descended from the said Robert Braine to the said Dame Eme and Ann wife to the said George Winter as aforesaid of right ought to belong and appertain, The tolls, liberties, jurisdictions, Royalties, privileges, Commodities, profits and advantages

within the City and liberties of Bristol during and continuing the Whitsone week for evermore to be enjoyed *Alternis Vicibus* by the said Sir Charles and George Winter and their heirs as is aforesaid only excepted. PROVIDED always that where[as] the fishing of Hadnock,¹ lying or being in the counties of Monmothe and Gloucester or one of them, which is called and known by the name of the weare of Hadnocke is also devised into two parts by the said division and partition The said George Winter hath allotted and assigned to this second part of the said partition and division the one moiety and half of the said yearly rents thereof, and hath allotted and assigned in like manner to the first part of this division and partition the other moiety or half of both the said yearly rents any thing before in this partition and division contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And finally the said George Winter hath allotted and appointed to this second part of the division and partition aforesaid All the lands, tenements and hereditaments lying or being in the Counties of Bristoll of (*sic*) Gloucester or either of them which be not expressed and mentioned [torn] part of the said Indenture of division.

AND it is Coven, amitted, granted, concluded and [torn] between the said Sir Charles Somersett and the said George Winter [and each?] of them by these presents doth Coven, amitte, grant, conclude and [torn] to and with the other of them that they and either of them and the heirs [torn] of them shall and will at all times hereafter finally for ever stand to and abide this present partition Indented that is to say the said Sir Charles and his heirs to have and enjoy for ever the said part of this partition which

¹ Some plots of land and a fishery in the Wye, at Hadnock, near Monmouth, were "thrown in" by Henry VIII. in his grant of St. James's Priory. They had previously formed part of the estate of Llanthony Abbey, near Gloucester, and, having apparently been lost sight of when the abbey lands were alienated, were applied for by Brayne, who, like Autolyceus, was a skilful snapper-up of unconsidered trifles.

is allotted called the second part And the said George Winter and his heirs to have and enjoy for evermore the other part which is called the first, in such manner and form as in this [torn] is mentioned and [illegible].

And also Covenant and grant and either of them do Covenant and grant to and with thother of them that they and either of them, and the heirs of either of them shall and will do and cause [the copy here ends abruptly].

The Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome.

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM BROWNLOW, D.D., BISHOP OF CLIFTON.

(Read October 31st, 1898.)

The beautiful Church of San Clemente, that stands between the Coliseum and St. John Lateran, has always been an object of interest to travellers, not so much on account of the frescoes of Massaccio and other attractions, as from its being long regarded as the most perfect specimen of a Basilica of the time of Constantine. But every tourist to Rome is now aware that this beautiful church is not even a portion of the ancient Basilica, and can claim no greater antiquity than the eleventh century. The ancient church still exists, and owes its discovery, after a burial of eight hundred years, entirely to the enterprise and energy of an Irish Dominican, Father Joseph Mullooly.

In the year 1857, Father Mullooly, who had some years previously come to the conclusion that his beautiful church could not really be the ancient Basilica, came upon a bit of old painting on the plaster of a crypt which had been used as a cellar. Further search revealed some ancient walls. On breaking through one of them, he found himself in a chamber filled with rubbish. When fourteen feet of this had been cleared out, he discovered three marble columns standing erect, and on the wall some fragments of frescoes representing the martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria. He saw at once that he had found the ancient Basilica of which he was in search. The importance of the discovery

was at once acknowledged by every archæologist. In 1858, it was possible for the public to visit the excavations. In the following year the Prince of Wales attracted more English than usual to Rome; and it has been mainly through the generous contributions of English, Irish and American visitors, Catholics and Protestants alike, that the good Prior of San Clemente was able to complete the disinterment of this long buried Basilica.

In 1858, in consequence of a request from the Slaves, made through the Papal Nuncio at Vienna, De Rossi was commissioned to search for the tomb of St. Cyril, the Apostle of Bulgaria, beneath the apse of San Clemente. No relics of St. Cyril were found, but the excavations proved that the whole of the north wall rested upon a titanic construction of great masses of tufa, and that this tufa wall made a right angle just at the north-west corner of the Church, and crossed it within a narrow space of the west wall. An immense cornice of travertine binds these masses of tufa together, and the whole construction bears the stamp of the age of the kings. This wall has been traced ninety feet from north to south, and two hundred-and-ten feet from west to east, without finding an end either way. De Rossi broke through the wall of the ancient apse, and there discovered two small, rectangular chambers; the first of which had its vaulted ceiling covered with white stucco, ornamented with sunken panels and rosettes with figures in the best classical style of the first or early part of the second century. Fear of injuring the church above prevented De Rossi from prosecuting his investigations further; but Father Mullooly afterwards followed up the work and brought to light an ancient staircase, leading down from the south aisle of the Basilica to an ambulatory, outside the apse, from which this stuccoed chamber was entered. On the further side of the ambulatory he found a doorway, leading into another larger chamber of later construction, which has a vaulted roof made to look like a grotto, with four large

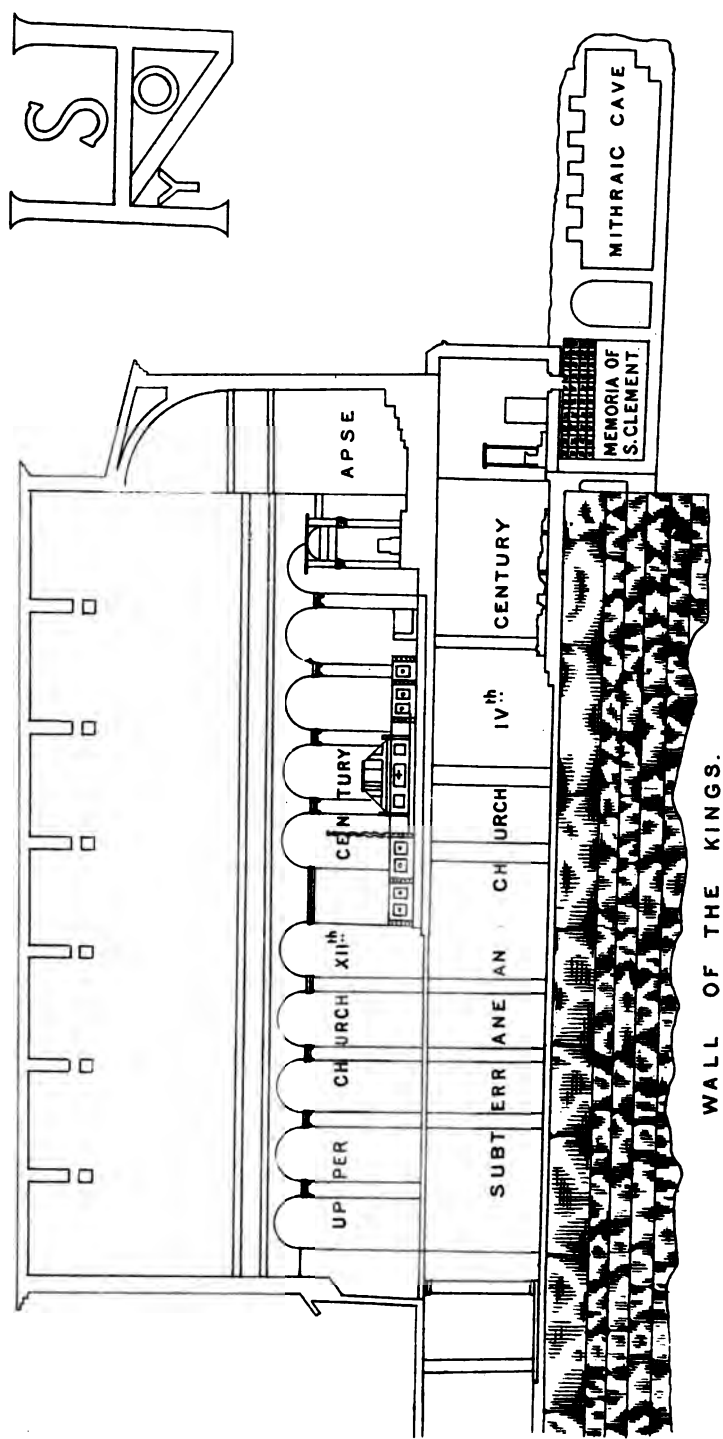
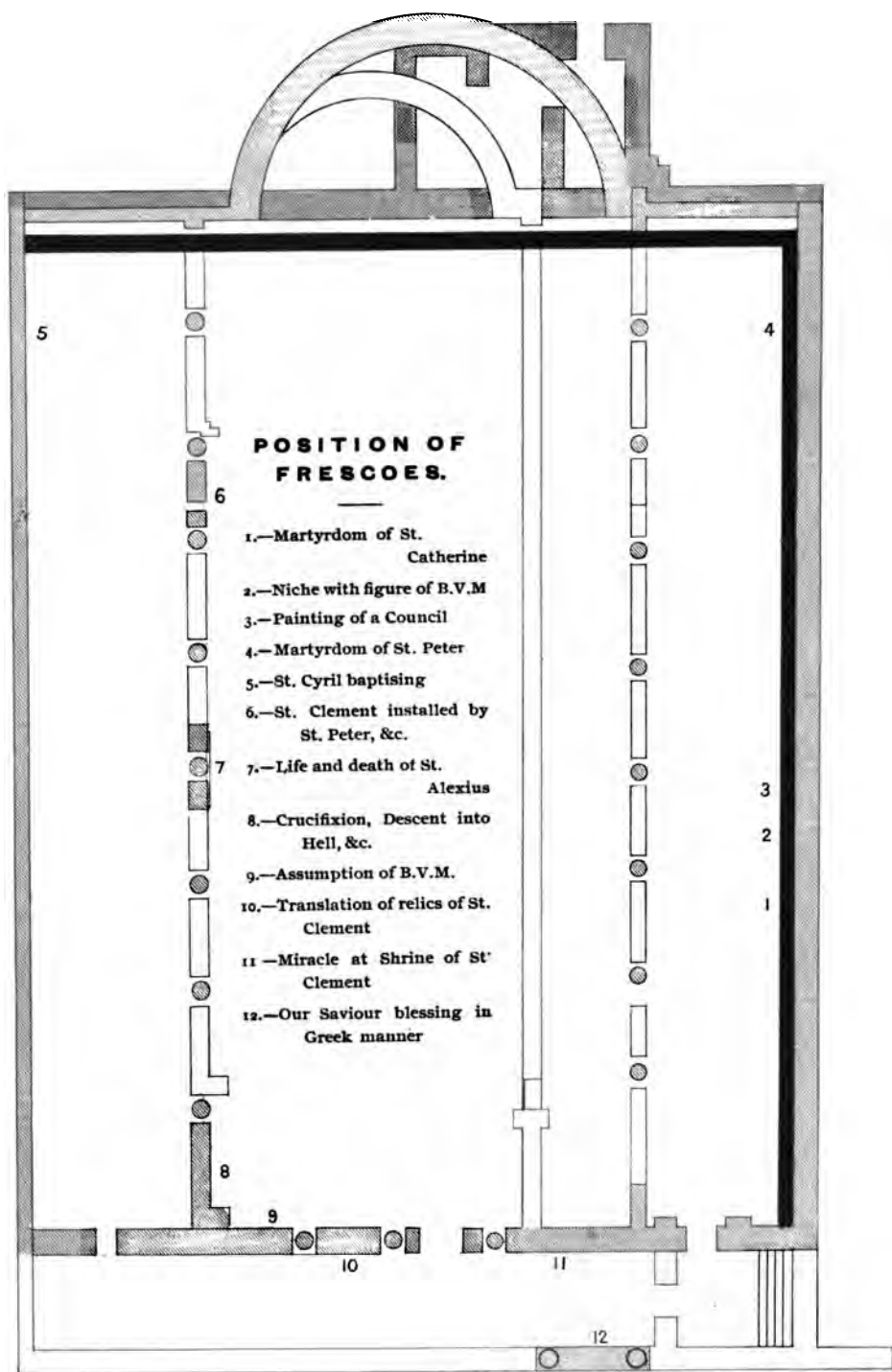


PLATE IX.



 A.D. 1108.	 1 ST CENTURY
 4 TH CENTURY.	 WALL OF THE KINGS.

Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome. 141

and several small luminaria, and with two benches like a divan running the whole length of the sides; while at the extreme end were the remains of an altar. De Rossi and other archæologists at once recognized this chamber as a Mithraic cave or *spelaeum*, of which examples have been found at Ostia and elsewhere.

Thus, within the precincts of San Clemente, we have (1) the present church, carrying us back to the twelfth or eleventh century; (2) the subterranean Basilica with walls of the age of Constantine; (3) the Mithraic cave of the third century; (4) the stuccoed chamber of the first century; and (5) the titanic wall, which carries us back to the days of Tarquin the Proud, or possibly to those of Servius Tullius. [See Plans.]

I. THE TITANIC WALL.

Time will not allow of my giving you any account of the arguments by which Mr. J. H. Parker and others endeavour to prove that we have here part of the ancient wall with which Servius Tullius surrounded the city five hundred years before Christ; nor of the reasons given by De Rossi and the majority of archæologists for thinking this whole valley between the Coelian and Esquiline hills must have been included within those walls, and that this masonry must have formed part of a building within the city. De Rossi is disposed to assign it to the Government Mint in the early days of the Republic.

II. THE STUCCOED CHAMBER.

The style of the stucco ornaments in the small chamber belongs to a period ranging from the days of Nero to those of the Antonines. The chamber is exactly under the apse of the ancient Basilica; in fact it occupies precisely the position which the *Confessio* of St. Peter did in the old Vatican Basilica, and which in other churches was occupied by the shrine of the Saint whose name they bear. Now, at the close of the fourth century, St. Jerome, in his short biography of St. Clement, says:—“*Nominis*

142 *Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome.*

ejus memoriam usque hodie Romae extructa ecclesia custodit—

The church built in Rome preserves even to the present day the memoria of his name."¹ *Memoria* in the fourth century indicated something more than the bare memory; it expressed either the tomb or some place connected with the Saint. But St. Clement suffered martyrdom in the Crimea, and his relics were not brought to Rome until the ninth century; how then could his *memoria* be preserved here in the fourth century? Before answering this question it may be well to notice another allusion to this church earlier than the time of St. Jerome. Among the inscriptions published by Fabretti is one on a bronze plate, such as used to be attached to the collar of slaves. One side of the plate bears the words:—TENE ME QVIA FUGI ET REBOCA ME VICTORI ACOLITO A DOMINICV CLEMENTIS.



"Hold me fast, for I have run away, and bring me back to Victor the Acolyte at the Church of Clement."

At the bottom of the inscription is the monogram of ✠ These bronze plates were substituted by an early decree of Constantine, for the degrading practice of branding slaves on the forehead; but the point I wish to call attention to is that Victor calls himself the *Acolitus*, not *basilicae* or *tituli Clementis*, but *acolutus a dominico Clementis*. Of all the inscriptions of priests, deacons, and other ministers of the Church, found in Rome, this is the only one in which a church is called *Dominicum*. In the third century, we know from St. Cyprian that this term was used to denote the place where Christians assembled for divine worship in the days of persecution. The conclusion is, that there was in the days of Constantine a Church of St. Clement known by the name used in times of persecution. Now, after the peace of the Church, such places of Christian assembly as had belonged to private families retained the names of the families in whose houses they had been, such

¹ *De Viris illustr.*, c., xv.

as St. Caecilia, or St. Pudentiana, and it was not until after the fourth century the custom to call a church or oratory after the name of a Saint, unless it was built in the Saint's own house, or over his sepulchre. St. Clement's sepulchre being in the Crimea, it would be in accordance with the custom of the fourth century that the *Dominicum Clementis* should form or contain part of the house once occupied by St. Clement himself. The inference is that the *Memoria* of St. Clement is nothing else than the small stuccoed chamber so carefully preserved beneath the apse of the Basilica, and that this chamber once formed part of St. Clement's own house. We have thus strong grounds for thinking that we have identified the dwelling of him of whom St. Paul wrote, "his name is in the book of life."¹ This part of Rome was the most fashionable part of the city in the days of the Flavian Emperors. The Christian Consul, Flavius Clemens, put to death by Domitian, was a nephew of Vespasian; and the spurious works attributed to St. Clement in the second and third centuries, show that he was believed at that period to have been connected with some of the noblest families. All these circumstances concur in confirming the evidence.

III. THE MITHRAIC CAVE.

I now pass on to the Mithraic Cave, discovered by Father Mullooly in 1869. The doorway which leads from the stuccoed chamber, which we may now call the *Memoria* of St. Clement, to the passage between it and the Cave, is flanked by pillars with Corinthian capitals of a style marking the decadence of classical art, and decidedly later than the ceiling which we have been considering. The brickwork, however, of the two chambers is apparently of the same date; and thus we are led to infer that they were connected by this passage, and the larger of them adapted for Mithraic rites, at a period considerably later than their original construction.

¹ Philipp., iv, 3.

144 *Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome.*

The Mithraic worship has been investigated with great industry and learning by several French and German antiquarians. It is enough to say that, of Persian origin, it was one of the last efforts of pagan idolatry to maintain its hold on the Roman Empire, when it saw its influence waning before the light of Christianity. It was a concentration of all the mythology of Olympus in the person of Mithras, the sun-god of the Persians. These rites were celebrated in open temples above ground as well as in grottoes like this one. Why a dark cave underground should have been thought an appropriate place for the worship of the sun is not clear; unless it was intended to do homage to the light and heat latent in the rock. At any rate, the favourite representation of Mithras was a youth with a Phrygian cap on his head rising out of a rock, which was called *PETRA GENETRIX*. Father Mullooly found one of these figures broken into a number of pieces, which he has carefully put together. This figure once stood at the further end of the chamber with its back to a walled-up door, and with a semicircular mosaic ornament above it, fragments of which are still to be seen. In front of the figure once stood an altar, with a *basso-relievo* on its front of Mithras sacrificing a bull, at the back a large serpent, and on either side genii bearing torches. Another attribute of Mithras was "*Cautus*," and a cippus was found in the chamber with the inscription *CAVTE SACR*.

A similar imitation of a natural cave occurs in a Mithraic *spelaeum* discovered in the last century at Ostia, where inscriptions were found which proved it to have been granted to a Mithraic priest in the year 190 by the Emperor Commodus. That cave was in the lower apartments of a palace—*cryptam palatii*. Now this is also found in what we have reason to believe was once the palace of the first patrician Pope. The question, of course, occurs, How did it come there?

To answer this question, we must widen the difficulty a little more, and ask, How came it that a den of this Oriental

Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome. 145

superstition could be found in such close proximity, and even connection with a Christian Church of the time of Constantine? It was not until the year 382 that any attempt was made by Christian Emperors to put down pagan worship by law; and even then, only pagan rites that were celebrated at the public expense. Sacrifices at private expense were tolerated until 395; in fact the Phrygian rites, closely allied to the Mithraic worship, were carried on with impunity close to the Basilica of St. Peter on the Vatican, as late as 394. But in 392, St. Jerome states that "the Church built in Rome preserves the *Memoria* of Clement even to the present day." Had this been a private house belonging to persons of that sect, their idolatrous rites would never have been interfered with until the end of the fourth century. On the other hand, if we suppose the stuccoed chamber to have been really venerated by the Christians of the first three centuries as the Oratory of St. Clement, and confiscated as such during the Diocletian persecution, then it would certainly have been one of the *loca religiosa* restored to Pope Melchiades, in 311, by the officers of Maxentius, as having been originally Christian property.¹ We may now re-construct the history of these chambers thus: The stuccoed chamber, and perhaps the larger one also, were used by St. Clement in the first century as a place of assembly for the Christians,—“the Church which was in his house.” After his exile and martyrdom in the Crimea, the chamber was regarded with affectionate veneration by the Christians of Rome as his *Memoria*. In the third century, when the places of assembly of Christians were especially marked out for destruction or confiscation, this was seized and handed over to some votaries of the Mithraic sect. The larger chamber was by them remodelled, and converted into a regular *spelæum*, while the smaller chamber was defiled by being turned into a vestibule for the Mithraic den. The Christians still remembered the place as the *Dominicum Clementis*, and when Maxentius was compelled to reverse the persecuting edicts of

¹ S. Augustine, *Brev. Coll. cum Donat.*, iii, 34-36.

146 *Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome.*

Diocletian, and restore the *loca religiosa*, they at once claimed this ancient sanctuary, and made it the centre of the apse of the Basilica erected by Constantine.

IV. THE ANCIENT BASILICA.

I have already quoted the words of St. Jerome about this Church in the fourth century. Another notice about the same time is to be found in the Church itself. The Episcopal Chair in the upper Church has an inscription which records that it was placed there by Cardinal Anastasius in the twelfth century. But the marble slabs of which it is composed are adorned near the edge with a line of letters in the Damasine type. These, with similar letters on fragments found elsewhere in the Church, have led De Rossi to make out that, during the pontificate of Siricius, *i.e.* between 384 and 398, a priest whose name began with GA, adorned this Basilica with a screen of marble. In 417, Pope Zozimus wrote to St. Augustine and the African Bishops about the Pelagian heretic, Celestius, who had appeared before a Council at Rome. "We sat," he says, "in the Basilica of St. Clement, for he, imbued with the teaching of Blessed Peter the Apostle had corrected ancient errors with such authority, and had made such progress, that the faith which he had learned and taught, he also consecrated by his martyrdom." A fragment of a fresco representing an assembly of ecclesiastics is conjectured to be a memorial of this Council. In 449, Pope Leo the Great sent as one of his Legates to the Latrocinium of Ephesus, Renatus, Priest of St. Clement,—*Presbyterum Tituli S. Clementis*.

The beautiful marble screen which encloses the *Schola cantorum*, the *ambones*, and the Paschal candlestick which adorn the upper Church are evidently much more ancient than any date that can be given to that edifice ; and Father Mullooly discovered on one of the marble beams under the panels West of the Gospel ambo, an inscription :—

ALTARE TIBI DS SALVO HORMISDA PAPA MERCURIUS PB CVM
SOCIIS OF(*fert*).

Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome. 147

The pontificate of Hormisdas lasted from 514 to 523, and this piece of marble apparently formed part of the epistyle of the Altar. One of the pillars, now adorning the monument of Cardinal Venerio in S. Clemente, bears on its capital the inscription :—

+ MERCVRIVS PB SCE EC(clesiae Romanae servu)s DNI.

This pillar probably supported the ciborium or baldachino over the altar, which the same Mercurius erected ; and both must have stood in the lower Church. This Mercurius, Cardinal Priest of St. Clement, in 532, became Pope John II., as we know from an inscription in St. Peter ad Vincula. De Rossi endorses the opinion of Father Mullooly that in Mercurius, John II., we have the person whose monogram is so often repeated on the marble screen, and which has been thought to be Pope John VIII. The classical style of the panelling agrees better with the sixth than with the close of the ninth century. This panelling replaced a more ancient screen, the remains of which have been found *in situ*.

An interesting episode in the history of San Clemente in the sixth century, is the life and death of St. Servulus, the beggar. St. Gregory the Great came himself to preach at his funeral. He said, " In the porch of the Church of St. Clement, Servulus, whom many of you know, passed his days. He was poor in this world's wealth, but rich in heavenly treasures. He was paralyzed from his infancy. His mother and brother attended him, and the alms he received he caused them to distribute to the poor. He was utterly ignorant of letters ; but he bought the books of the Sacred Scriptures, and had them continually read to him by the pilgrims and other pious persons to whom he gave hospitality, so that he committed them all to memory. In his sufferings he never ceased, either day or night, to give thanks to God, and to sing his praises. But when the time arrived for him to receive the reward of his sufferings, the pain attacked the vital parts. Knowing that he was near death, he asked the pilgrims and those persons whom he had lodging with him, to arise and

148 *Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome.*

sing with him the Psalms for his death. And while they were singing, he suddenly interrupted them, saying with a loud voice: 'Hush! Do you not hear the melodies of the heavenly choir?' And, listening to the angelic chant, he expired."

Father Mullooly argues from this that S. Clemente must have been in good repair at the beginning of the seventh century; and we do not read of any further restorations until the time of Pope Adrian I., who died in 795. Of him, the *Liber Pontificalis* states: "He restored and made new the roof of the Title of St. Clement, in the 3rd Region, which was on the point of falling, and was quite in ruins." His successor, Leo III., presented to the Basilica "a vestment of crossed work, having its borders studded with gold, and a silver corona of 15 lbs weight."

We come now to a period in the history of San Clemente in which it is more easy to compare historical records with existing remains. In the south-west corner of the nave is a series of paintings, apparently all of the same date. One of them represents the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; but on either side of the astonished Apostles is a figure in much larger proportions. One, with a circular nimbus, holds a small cross in his hand, and has the name *SCS VITUS* at his head. The other, invested with the Pallium, has a square nimbus, showing that he was living when the picture was painted, and the inscription:—

SANCTISSIMUS DOM LEO RT PP ROMANUS.

The missing letter is evidently Q, so that this picture must have been painted between 847 and 855, the period of Leo IV.'s pontificate. Beneath the whole compositions runs an inscription:—

QVOD HAEC PRAE CVNCTIS SPLENDET PICTURA DECORE
COMPONERE HANC STVDVIT PRESBYTER ECCE LEO.

Leo IV. had been Priest of the Church of the Quattro Coronati, just opposite S. Clemente; and it is probable that he designed, if he did not himself paint, this fresco, while a simple priest; and that after his elevation to the

Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome. 149

Pontificate, the title and pallium were added. It is a remarkable coincidence that the *Liber Pontificalis* records that Leo IV. ordered the Octave day of the Assumption to be kept with great solemnity, and that before his time, it had not been so kept in Rome. It also records several costly presents made to the Basilica of S. Clement by the same Leo IV.

The other frescoes on the same wall seem to belong to the same period. They represent the Crucifixion, with our Lady and St. John by the Cross; the Maries at the Sepulchre; the Soul of Christ descending into Limbo, and preaching to the spirits in prison, raising up a man, apparently Adam, while a woman, whom we may take to be Eve, welcomes Him with outstretched hands. There is also a fragment of the Miracle at Cana in Galilee, with the title of the ruler of the Feast ARCHTRICLINVS in vertical letters. It is, however, to be noticed, that the wall on which these subjects are painted did not form part of the original building. The four pillars which separated the Nave from the Narthex are, with one exception, still *in situ*. They do not appear to have been strong enough to support the portico, and four of the spaces on either side of them were blocked up with brickwork, leaving only the space between the two central ones as an entrance to the Church. These walls were plastered, and afterwards adorned with frescoes. On the opposite side of the Narthex is a similar strengthening wall, with a fresco upon it of our Lord giving His Blessing after the Greek manner, with St. Andrew and St. Clement on either side of Him, and SS. Cyril and Methodius kneeling before him guarded by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. These walls may have formed part of the restorations of Adrian I.

Cyril and Methodius were two brothers of a Roman family who had settled in Constantinople. They were sent to teach the Christian religion to the Chazari, a tribe of Huns on the Danube, who had requested the Greek Emperor, Michael III., to send them Christian teachers.

150 *Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome.*

Their mission was so successful that they were sent on another mission to the Bulgarians. Methodius was an artist as well as a priest; and a striking picture of the Last Judgment, which he painted in the palace, is said to have effected the conversion of Boigaris, king of the Bulgarians. Boigaris wrote to Pope Nicholas I., who succeeded to the Papacy four years after the death of Leo IV., on the solution of some questions which perplexed him; and the two brothers continued their missionary labours through Moravia and Bohemia. They are regarded as the Apostles of all the countries where the Slavonic language is spoken. The Slavonic Liturgy is still used in Russia. Before Cyril went out on his mission, he made diligent inquiries about the relics of St. Clement. St. Gregory of Tours tells a story of St. Clement having been drowned in the sea with an anchor round his neck; and that the angels built a shrine over his body under the sea; and that, every year, when the anniversary of his martyrdom came round, the sea used to recede three miles to admit of the faithful visiting the shrine. The people assured Cyril that this had not happened for the last 500 years; and we may safely conclude that it never happened at all, for Cyril succeeded in finding the relics of St. Clement on a little island. He carried them about with him in all his missionary wanderings, until, at the invitation of Nicholas I., the two brothers arrived in Rome. Nicholas I. died before their arrival; but his successor Adrian II. went out with a large concourse of clergy and people to meet them; and thus, after the lapse of 800 years, St. Clement once more entered Rome, and was deposited in the Church which had so long preserved his *Memoria* and his name. Shortly afterwards, Cyril died, and Methodius wished to carry his remains to their mother at Constantinople. The Romans petitioned the Pope not to allow him to be taken away; and he was buried "in a marble monument prepared for the purpose in the Basilica of St. Clement, on the right side of the altar." Methodius, after a long life of missionary

Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome. 151

labours returned to Rome, and he also was buried in S. Clemente. In the south-west corner of the south aisle are some ruins, which Rossi considers to be part of the monument of the two brothers, and near these is a fragment of a rude fresco of St. Cyril, whose name is written in vertical letters, before a crowned monarch, probably Michael III., while, further on, is a bishop baptizing a young man, possibly Boigaris or the king of the Chazari. The translation of the relics of St. Clement is the last historical event which can with certainty be assigned to the ancient Basilica.

It is impossible to fix precisely the dates of the various frescoes which have been found, sometimes with others of an earlier date underneath them; but the four votive paintings executed at the expense of one Beno de Rapiza are certainly the latest decorations of the old Church. They are far superior in design and execution to any of the others, and are evidently all by one hand. Kügler has fixed the dawn of mediæval Italian art at the year 1204, the date of the Latin conquest of Constantinople; and Cimabue was not born until 1240. I can make no pretensions to be an art-critic; but from my recollections of Cimabue at Assisi, I should say that, setting aside his evident superiority in the expression of his faces, the grouping of the figures in these paintings, and the life and movement with which they tell their story will bear comparison with any compositions of Cimabue that have come down to us. Cimabue's masters were Byzantine artists, while these paintings have very little affinity with the Byzantine School, and were executed two-hundred years before Cimabue began to paint. These paintings, of which one has been copied in colours by a lady now in Clifton, represent:—

1. St. Clement saying Mass, interrupted by the Pagan Sisinnius, with the Consecration of St. Clement by the Apostle St. Peter above it.
2. The life, death, and recognition of St. Alexius.

152 *Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome.*

3. The legend of a child miraculously preserved alive in the shrine of St. Clement under the sea.

4. The Translation of the Relics of St. Clement by Pope Nicholas.

The confusion of Pope Nicholas I. with his successor Pope Adrian II., who really translated the relics, is a sign that a considerable time had elapsed between the death of Nicholas in 867, and the execution of these paintings. The name Benno de Rapiza is another aid in determining the date. Muratori lays it down as a rule, "Very rarely in the tenth century, more frequently in the eleventh, and in abundant instances in the twelfth century, was the use of the surname diffused and established." He goes on to say that the Venetians were the first to use it, and that in Rome it was rare even in the eleventh century. Corvisieri, who has made extensive researches on the ancient families of Rome, finds that the family of De Rapiza rose into some importance precisely in the eleventh century. Lastly, the brilliancy of the colours when first these paintings were brought to light is an additional proof that they must have been executed shortly before the destruction of the ancient Basilica.

We are able to fix the date of that event with some accuracy. The episcopal chair, already alluded to, states that Cardinal Anastasius "*hoc opus cepit perfecit*, began and completed this work." He died in 1125, and Panvinus writes of him: "His tomb still remains in the Basilica of St. Clement, which he rebuilt from the foundations."

Now, in 1099, a Conclave, for the election of Pope Paschal II. was held in S. Clemente. It is very improbable that a Church capable of being used for such a purpose should, in the course of twenty-five years, require rebuilding from its foundation. Hence we may safely conclude that it was rebuilt before that date. Father Mullooly found in the subterranean church an inscription bearing the names of Popes Gregory VI. and Nicholas II., whose pontificates ended respectively in 1046 and 1060. The demolition of

Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome. 153

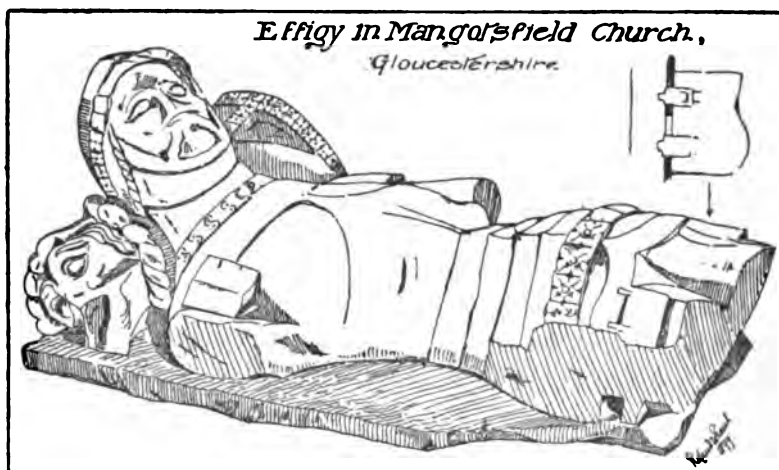
the ancient Basilica, and the building of the new one must therefore have taken place between 1060 and 1099. Now we know that this part of Rome was, in 1084, pillaged by the Normans, as they marched, under Robert Guiscard, to the relief of Pope Gregory VII., who was besieged in St. Angelo by the Emperor Henry IV. It is impossible, therefore, to resist the conclusion that 1084 was the date of the destruction of the ancient Basilica; and that in the course of the next fifteen years, Cardinal Anastasius, finding the soil of this part of Rome so much raised by the accumulated rubbish from the devastations of the Normans, determined to abandon the lower Basilica, and used its walls and columns as foundations for the new church, in which he placed the stone screen, the ambones, the candlestick, together with the mosaic, and even the pavement of the old Basilica.

The discoveries of Father Mullooly have shorn the present Basilica of some of its interest, and have left it only a respectable antiquity of eight hundred years. But they have brought to light more matter for historical and archæological research than is to be found anywhere else in Rome within so narrow a compass, and have confirmed in a most unexpected way many of the ancient traditions which have always vaguely floated about the Basilica of San Clemente.

Two Effigies at Mangotsfield, Gloucestershire.

BY LIEUT.-COL. J. R. BRAMBLE, F.S.A., V.P.

(Read November 19th, 1898.)



These effigies, evidently a pair, are somewhat coarsely executed in oolite or Bath stone. The male effigy is in armour, but all the figure below the middle of the hips, as well as the whole of the right arm and the left arm from above the elbow, are missing. The armour is that of the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The head is covered with a pointed bascinet, with wreath, and rests on a tilting helmet surmounted with a crest. The throat and upper part of the breast are covered with a gorget of overlapping plates. There is a breastplate with a tapul or strengthening plate pointed upwards and square (or shield-shaped) pallettes protecting the armpits. Below the waist there is a "skirt of taces"—seven in number—attached to the lower of which

are two small tuilles, only slightly rounded on the lower side. They are of an early type.

The sword-belt is worn transversely across the hips and is richly ornamented. The tilting helmet is surmounted by a sea-lion, the crest of the Blount family. Round the bascinet is a wreath of squares, each charged with a four-leaved flower, and round the neck is a collar of SS.

There are two special details in the armour: (1) a late instance of a transverse sword-belt occurring with a style of armour usually associated with a diagonal belt; (2) an early instance of tuilles attached to a skirt of taces.

Apart from historical evidence, I should have been inclined to date the armour 1455-60. I am informed, however, that there was formerly attached to the monument a coat of arms bearing Blount quartering Seymour, and that Edmund Blount, who married Margaret Seymour, and first brought the Seymour Wings into the family, died in 1468. The next in the pedigree, Simon Blount, who died 1477, is decidedly later than the armour represented, and was a much younger man (twenty-five). It is, I think, a fair assumption that the effigy represents Edmund Blount, whose age at death was sixty-two. In saying this I have not overlooked the fact that he should have impaled, and not quartered, the Seymour arms.

The female effigy is habited in a long, full gown, belted under the breasts, and without cloak or robe over. The head-dress is horned, or mitred, with a short veil turned over and resting on a pillow. The dress may well be 1460-70. The details of ornament correspond with those in the male effigy.

[In Rudder's *History of Gloucestershire*, printed in 1779, these effigies are thus described: p. 537. "Mangotsfield. . . . The church is dedicated to St. James. . . . There is a small Chancel on the north side of the great one, which is the burying-place of several of the family of the Merediths. . . . Here are two effigies in stone, at full length, and well preserved, supposed to be designed for some of the family of the Blounts, who had great property here

and in the neighbouring parish of Bitton." Since Rudder's time the church has suffered greatly from "restorations," and has, in fact, been nearly entirely rebuilt. During one of these "restorations" the male effigy seems to have been partially destroyed, and the remaining portion buried in the "small Chancel," or "Chantry Chapel," as it is elsewhere called, to make room for the organ. For its restoration to the light of day we are indebted to the ingenious "genealogist" now serving his term of "three years hard labour" in one of Her Majesty's prisons. Mr. Phillimore, in his account of "*Regina v. Davies and the Shipway Genealogy*," thus describes some of the "discoveries" of the soi-disant "Dr. H. Davies, B.A., Oxon." "In Mangotsfield Church itself he found two ancient effigies, and though the county historians, for heraldic reasons, a century ago, pronounced them to belong to the Blount family, Davies, who "determined facts fully by exhaustive investigation," assigned them to *John Shipway and Margaret his wife, who died in 1623 and 1628.* . . . Behind the church organ was a niche with a sort of stone canopy over it. In this niche was a female figure carved in stone, and old inhabitants stated that there had formerly been the figure of a man in armour beside the woman, but that for some reason it had been buried under the organ. This memorial really belonged to the Blount family, but the defendant had the organ removed, the figure dug up, and eventually had an elaborate screen placed in front at Col. Shipway's expense, bearing the following words on two brass plates. On the one:

JOHANIS SHIPWAY. THE INCLOSED TWO MONUMENTS
WERE PLACED IN THIS CHANTRY TO PERPETUATE THE
MEMORIES OF JOHN SHIPWAY, MAN OF ARMS, OF
BEVERSTONE AND MANGOTSFIELD, AND MARGARET HIS
WIFE. DURING TROUBLOUS TIMES THE FIGURE OF
JOHN SHIPWAY WAS BURIED NEAR BY. IT WAS RECOVERED
AND REPLACED BY HIS DIRECT LINEAL DESCENDANT,
LIEUT.-COL. R. W. SHIPWAY, NOV., 1896.

On the other plate were other Davies "discoveries" equally credible. When the Club visited Mangotsfield, in November last, these inscriptions remained upon the glass case, but since, by order of the Bishop, both case and inscriptions have been removed, the other Davies forgeries erased from the parish books and monuments, and all, as far as possible, restored to the condition it was in before 1896. Only the unearthed fragment of the male effigy remains, and that bears upon the breast the initials I. S. so rudely cut that one can hardly believe them to have been the work of such a skilful forger. They are so deeply cut, however, that it has been found impossible to remove the letters without injuring what is left of the effigy; in years to come these initials will be the only visible signs left in the church to remind visitors of one of the most notorious events connected with the modern history of the parish. ED.]

Archæological Notes for 1898.

BY JOHN E. PRITCHARD.

(*Read November 24th, 1898.*)

During the month of February, through the demolition of an old house, probably of early eighteenth century date, in Castle Green, which overlooked the Broad Weir, some portions of the foundation walls on the north-east side of the Bristol Castle were brought to light. The massiveness of construction and the superior mortar used in those early days greatly impressed the masons engaged in the erection of the new brick-built school, now completed upon this historic site.

A circular farthing, issued at Bristol in 1662, and some tobacco pipes of the same period were found.

In the same month, on the north side of the church of St. James, in consequence of tramway's extension, a carved stone head was discovered. This was put aside at the moment, but unfortunately carted away with rubbish to a distance, and could not afterwards be traced. From the evidence of the foreman, it appears to have represented an early English queen, or saint, and doubtless formed a part of the ancient priory.

The only other items of interest found at this spot was a Charles I. shilling, from the Tower mint, of the usual type, having the "Crown" mint mark.

During March and April, amongst other coinage dredged up from Bristol harbour was a James II. tin half-penny, in unusually fine condition. These coins, which are not common, have a plug of copper struck through the centre.

The obverse has a laureate bust of the king, to the right, IACOBVS SECVNDVS. Reverse, figure of Britannia—BRITANNIA. Edge inscribed NVMMORVM FAMVLVS, and the date. This was probably issued in 1685, but the figures are not quite clear. Also two *square* Bristol farthings, current at the end of the sixteenth century; there are several types of these, the earliest of town pieces, and they are all of exceptional rarity.

In April, when again visiting Banwell Camp and Hill, I discovered several fine Neolithic scrapers, various sling stones, many flakes and some fragments of British pottery. This stronghold was evidently occupied in large numbers by these early tribes, if we may judge by the numerous flint weapons and implements constantly found there. I have never left this spot without bringing away specimens.

The old timbered and gabled House¹ with the "Brewers' Arms" on the front, at the top of the Pithay, facing Wine Street, was pulled down early in May, but the "Shield of Arms" had been taken out on the 3rd February, by sanction of the "New Streets Committee," and deposited in the Museum.

A clay "Gauntlet" tobacco pipe was found on this site. Aubrey informs us that "the best tobacco pipes in England were made at 'Amesbury,' by Gauntlet, who marks the heele of them with a gauntlet, whence they are called Gauntlet pipes." The clay came from Chittern in the same county. There are several varieties in the Salisbury museum, but this is the only specimen that I know of having been found in Bristol.

At the corner of Back Street, in digging foundations, at a depth of about eight feet, two "wig curlers," or "curling pins," were found in June last. These are of pipe clay; one was "hand made," 2½ in. long, and the other "lathe turned," and 3 in. long; they are small in the middle with bulbous ends. Probably of seventeenth or

¹ *Proceedings of the Club*, iii., p. 75, iv., p. 54.

eighteenth century date. In the middle of last century there were different sorts of wigs in use.¹

The earliest known were made in terra cotta; these have been found in Etruria, and, with Roman remains, in London.

Between August and October continuous excavations were carried on at the top of the Pithay,² in connection with extensive building operations. At this spot, which is on the line of the inner wall of our ancient city, a large number of most interesting specimens of early pottery have been secured, as the result of over a hundred personal visits. A portion of the original walling was exposed for a short time. I hope to describe these finds in detail, at a later date.

When at *Cadbury Camp*, near Tickenham, in August, I was fortunate in casually finding within a few yards of the outer rampart, a narrow but finely shaped Neolithic flint flake, nearly 1½ in. long, carefully worked on one side, and evidently intended for an arrow point; also a portion of a "thumb" scraper and other flint flakes.

On the 24th day of October, an early British grave was discovered at Walton Park, Clevedon, on the land of Mr. H. C. H. Day. This important burial place was visited by Col. Bramble, Mr. Hudd, and myself, soon afterwards, and it will be described in our *Proceedings*.

When on the West Hill, just above Weston-in-Gordano in December, for only a short time, I found a beautifully worked, leaf-shaped arrow-head, slightly rounded at the point, besides many other flakes.

Doubtless, the pastoral tribes of the Neolithic period had important encampments all along this ridge of high land; for the situation must have formed a practically safe dwelling place, as a very extensive look-out was obtainable.

In "Telephone Avenue," Baldwin Street, in December, two cannon balls were found, about three feet below the surface.

¹ Dr. Brewer's *Reader's Hand Book*, 1892, Edn. p. 1101.

² *Proceedings of the Club*, iv., p. 51.

Singularly enough, they were discovered within a few yards of the spot where the unfired lead bullets¹ were turned up in 1897. These two shot each measure $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, and weigh $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds; one of them was slightly flattened, as though it had struck some hard substance, and, doubtless, both had been fired from the south side of the city during one of the sieges of Bristol.²

It is very difficult to accurately trace the kind of guns used in the Civil War, but Viscount Dillon, P.S.A., who has examined this shot, considers that it was fired from a "Drake," a piece of artillery weighing about 280 pounds, 4 feet in length, and having a 3 in. bore, which would allow $\frac{1}{4}$ in. for windage.

It may be interesting to mention that the same size shot, as well as 2 in. diameter, has been found at Pylle Hill; shot of 3 in. and $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter on Brandon Hill, and 3 in. diameter on St. Michael's Hill.

During the same excavations several fragments of mediæval pottery were found, various small bowl Cromwellian tobacco pipes with the following marks upon the heels: C.B., R.B., EDWARDS, P.E., L., T.M., R.N., and I.P.; also a clay curling pin $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. long. The only coin unearthed was an Irish half-penny of Elizabeth's reign. Obverse, ELIZABETH · D' · G' · AN' RE' · ET. HIB' · RE'; a shield with arms of France (modern) and England quarterly, between E · R. Reverse, POSVI · DEVM · ADIVTOREM · MEV: A harp, crowned. The date on either side, 16-01. Mint mark, a star.

¹ *Proceedings of the Club*, iv., p. 56.

² See *Sieges of Bristol*, by a Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

Clapton-in-Gordano Church, Somersetshire.

BY ROBERT HALL WARREN, F.S.A., V.P.

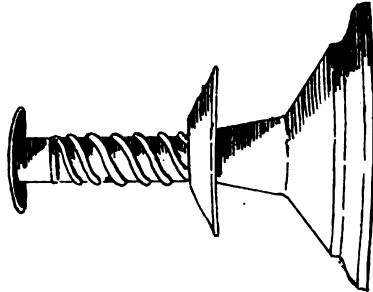
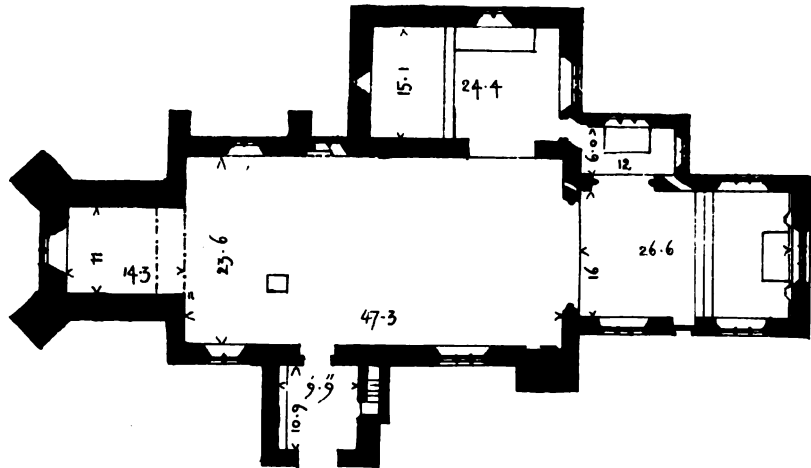
(*Read May 25th, 1898.*)

In our steep ascent to this Church it must have been borne in upon us that one only dedication would be appropriate here, that of St. Michael the Archangel, and so it is. The very soil seems as if stained by the blood of the dragon.¹ The plan is very simple—tower at west end, nave, chancel, south porch, north chapel, and sacristy—the architecture very plain, and little of interest in monumental remains; and yet its unusual position and the picturesque grouping of its members render it highly attractive.

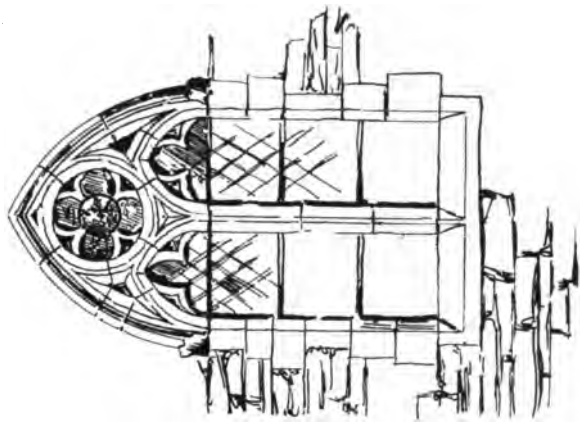
The usual approach was by the west, up a steep foot-path, which had the advantage of bringing the visitor direct to the tower, which struck the keynote of the whole building. It is of two stages, low, and flanked at the west end by diagonal buttresses of two stages, the lower of which are very massive. In the west side of the first stage of the tower is a two-light Early English window with hood-mould, enriched with very large tooth ornament, and on all four sides of the belfry is a single lancet, with rough stones for louvre boards. The cornice is supported by corbels of masks and heads, and the parapet at west end is ornamented with panelled quatrefoils. The rough cast has only lately been removed.

¹ "In the fields near the Church a rich red earth."—*Collinson*.

CLAPTON-IN-GORDANO.



ALTAR
CANDLESTICK



EAST END OF
SACRISTY.

The south porch is deep, and has a two-light square head Perpendicular window in the gable over a good doorway of fifteenth century date. The interior has a stone seat on each side, and in the east wall is a depressed ogee-head doorway, blocked up, communicating with a staircase, which probably opened upon a platform, as still seen at Weston-in-Gordano. A large slab with incised cross, but inscription gone, reaches across the porch from bench to bench. Above the inner doorway, which is very depressed, is a small canopied niche. The gable is surmounted by a plain cross formed of cylindrical limbs. At the south-east of the nave is a projection of masonry, enclosing stairs to the rood-loft, having a small square-head blocked-up window in its western side. On the south side of the chancel are two three-light square head windows, with priests' door between, and on the north side one only of similar character. The east window is also of the fifteenth century, of three lights, with king and queen as hood-mould terminations. The gable has a cross similar to that on the porch, and the sanctus-bell turret at junction of nave and chancel has another. This bell still remains, and has the enigmatic legend, "SIGNIS CESSANDIS ET SERVIS CLAMO CIBANDIS," Mr. Ellacombe (*Church Bells of Somerset*), says, that this bell being pre-Reformation is probably unique. The translation may read "When the great bells stop and when the servants take their meal, I sound." "Signum"¹ was the word for great bell.

On the north side of the nave is a large chapel, with smaller building to the east, evidently intended as a sacristy. The latter has a lean-to roof, and a two-light early thirteenth century window with a circle in the head in its east end. No cusping appears from the exterior, but inside it will be seen to have a quatrefoil, cusped in the soffit, a feature peculiar to early geometrical work. The hood-mould is the roll, with a small quarter round below, and terminates on

¹ *Du Cange*. "Pulsantur Signa" "Signum pulsatur ad Capitulum."

one side in a cluster of oak leaves, and on the other side in a rose; the details of this window are beautifully executed. The chapel has a three-light Early Decorated window in its east end, a two-light ogee-head window of same date, now blocked up, in its north wall, and a large, plain, single lancet window in its west wall, which is seen inside to be widely splayed. The north side of the nave is treated as on the opposite side, and so calls for no special notice. An old yew tree in each corner adds much to the beauty of the churchyard. On entering, everyone will be struck by the extreme plainness and bareness of the walls, which are not improved by the plaster and sham masonry mark added in recent restorations.

The tower arch is a plain, pointed soffit with engaged keel-shaped shafts in the eastern angle, having grotesque heads for capitals. Most of the windows have escoisson arches, and are deeply splayed. The arch opening to the chapel, and that leading to the sacristy from the chancel, are of the fifteenth century, having the same mouldings. The piers of the chancel arch have capitals of oak-leaf foliage, and shields of the "Arthur" arms (former Lords of the Manor), a chevron between three clarions. In the north jamb is a square-headed hagioscope. On the western side of the chancel arch are eleven square holes sunk, five on each side, and one in the point; this may have served for the support of some frame-work of pictorial representations, which may also explain the meaning of a square opening, high up on either side, to give extra light. The reredos has a small embattled crest, and on each side of the altar a detached shaft with stiff leaf foliage in bases, having all the appearance of inverted capitals. The crest is carried round the caps of these shafts, forming a place for the two large latten candlesticks, which still retain their old position. The capitals of these shafts are of the fifteenth century, as is the cornice, to assist in the construction of which the Early English shafts and caps had evidently been borrowed. These Early English inverted capitals are of beautiful design

and workmanship, and may have formed part of the original thirteenth century chancel arch. That the present chancel retains its ancient proportions is evident from the existence of the beautiful thirteenth century piscina on the south of the altar. The arch mouldings of this are very bold and deep, and supported by detached shafts with capitals of stiff leaf foliage. Both reredos and piscina were, at the time of my first visit, painted and grained to resemble oak. The candlesticks, with spiral stems broaden out into bases twelve inches in diameter, and are of very light weight. Whether the candlesticks were made for the reredos, or the reredos adapted to receive the candlesticks, can only be determined by the date of the latter, about which there is much doubt. They are assigned by some to an early pre-Reformation time, and by others, to the orders of Archbishop Laud. In the upright lights of one of the south windows of the chancel were, in 1856, some mutilated figures of saints, but these are now gone. In the chapel is a large bracket on the north side of the sill of the window, and in the eastern pier of the arch a cinquefoliated piscina, with hollow chamfer terminating in foliage. A four-centred doorway between the window and chancel pier leads to the sacristy, in which is a large slab raised as a table, placed north and south. This may have been removed from the chancel, where it perhaps served as the altar, but no sign of crosses exist on it, or it may have been used as an "Easter Sepulchre." The hagioscope leading from the sacristy has a small piscina in it.

The open timber roofs are of the fifteenth century, with bosses at the intersections. The cornice is quatrefoliated and embattled above. Externally, the nave and chapel are roofed with lead, and the chancel, porch, and sacristy with stone tiles. The font, of thirteenth century character (standing on a large, square stone), has a quatrefoil bowl with heads under each lobe, and small masks and heads in the angles. It is illustrated in Mr. Pope's paper, Plate xxii., vol. ii. of our *Proceedings*. It is sadly disfigured by modern res-

torations. At the time of my first visit, the whole of the nave was occupied by very plain, low and massive elm benches, possibly of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, but these have given way to more modern though not more comfortable seats. Some of these remain at the west end, and some are placed in the manorial chapel. Fragments of painting have been discovered on the north side of the nave, shewing a female figure under a canopy, holding a large cross.¹ This is destroyed, but a consecration cross painted over one of the hagioscopes was allowed to remain. Many stone slabs of the Winter family are in the chapel, which appears to have been the family burial place, but the monument of Henry Winter, 1672, rejoicing in all the meretricious ornament of the Renaissance style, completely throws his more retiring kinsmen into the shade. The Church can hardly have altered much in appearance or plan since the time of its first erection, in the early part of the thirteenth century. The sacristy must be referred to the latter part of the same, and the chapel to the commencement of the succeeding century. The first known Incumbent was John Arthur, and he was succeeded, in A.D. 1319, by Walter de Boleye, Willm. Arthur de Clopton being patron of the living, which was valued at eight marks in 1292. By the 2nd of Henry V., "the wages" of the parish priest were limited to £5 6s. 8., except when there was special licence from the Bishop, when they might be raised as high as £6. It is curious that this living should have been valued at exactly the smaller amount some one hundred and twenty years before this settlement.

Some interest attaches to the Church, in connection with the good Bishop Ken who spent much of his time at Nash Court with the two Miss Kemneys, the "Ladies of Nash" whom he describes as "two good virgins beyond Bristol, where there is a kind of nunnery, and with whom I

¹ Judging from a sketch made at the time of its discovery by Mr. Roland W. Paul, this figure seems to have been intended for St. Margaret. Ed.

usually abide during my Lord's absence," so that the Bishop must have been a frequent worshipper in this little Church.

Dean Plumptre, in his *Life of Ken*, vol. ii., p. 169, gives an inscription on a marble tablet to the memory of the two sisters in Clapton Church, believed to have been written by Bishop Ken. This is, however, a mistake, as none such exists at Clapton. It is in the Kemeys chapel in Michaelstone-y-Vedw, Monmouthshire, where the two ladies are buried.

The Manor is called "Clotune" in *Domesday*, and was held, like many other manors in the neighbourhood, of the Bishop of Coutances. Subsequently, it was held of the Honour of Gloucester, which may, perhaps, account for the family, which assumed the name of Arthur, bearing the arms of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, "Gules, a chevron, Argent, between three clarions (or lance rests) Or." It continued in this family until the time of Edward Arthur, living here in 1592, when, at his death, his daughter Mary transferred it by marriage to William Winter, and in this family it remained until 1685, when it was sold, and has since passed through various hands. To the care of the present proprietor, Mr. E. P. Wills, we owe the preservation of the remarkable double-arched doorway of oak, which, at my first visit, I saw in its original position in the "screens" of the adjacent Court House, where it most likely served as the entrance to the buttery and pantry. Since then, it was turned out at the reconstruction of the house, and after lying for years in the yard, where pools of water settled in the deep mouldings, and subsequently put up as an arch in the garden, it has now found a safe resting place in the Church. By a happy coincidence, it was found that the span of the doorway and that of the tower arch were the same, and here it has been erected, adding to the dignity of the Church and preserving the arch from further decay.¹

It is figured in a paper by the late Mr. E. W.

¹ See *Proceedings*, vol. i., p. 288.

Godwin, F.S.A., in vol. xvii., of the *Archæological Journal* for 1860, and, from the mouldings, assigned by him to the early part of the thirteenth century (*circa* 1210); though Mr. J. H. Parker, from the curious tracery formed by three spherical triangles in the head, considered that it belonged to the time of Edward I. or II. Mr. Parker says (*Gentleman's Magazine*) "the tracery in the head appears to belong to the original work, and no such tracery was in use in the early part of the thirteenth century."

In his *Domestic Architecture*, part ii., p. 338, he describes it as "probably the most remarkable piece of early wooden domestic screen-work in existence." It is much to be regretted that this simple tracery was not allowed to remain, the present arrangement of multifoils being quite out of character with the original design. Over the outer doorway of Clapton Court tower is a shield with the arms of the Arthur family, a "chevron between three lance rests" impaling those of Berkeley "a chevron between ten crosses pattée." This fixes this part of the building as that of Richard Arthur, who married Alice, third daughter of James, Lord Berkeley, *circa* 1463.¹

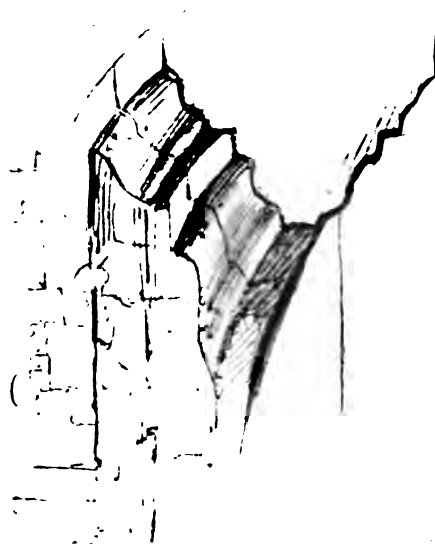
¹ Smith's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. ii., p. 93.



WALTON-IN-GORDANO, SOMERSET.



NICHES, EAST END.



TOWER ARCH

Walton-in-Gordano.

BY ROBERT HALL WARREN, F.S.A., V.P.

A few notes on this Church, taken in 1855 (before any thought of its restoration) may not be out of place here. "This little church about a mile east of Clevedon, picturesquely lying in a glen, sloping from the rocky coast, is in such a ruined state as to present but few objects of interest to the searcher for monuments of mediæval art. It is, however (what little of it remains), a good specimen of the period of transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style. The tower at the west-end and portions of the south and east walls, are all that now exist, but they indicate the exact extent of the church, which consisted of a simple nave only, and perhaps afforded sufficient accommodation to the inhabitants of the thinly populated neighbourhood. The general character is shown by the mouldings, which are remarkably bold, to be a rare instance of the decline of the Decorated style, and the introduction of the Perpendicular at the close of the fourteenth century.

"The west doorway in the tower remains in pretty good preservation, and the mouldings are deep. Above it is the square head (so common in this period) with shields in the angles. Over this is a window of the same date, with portions of tracery remaining in the head, above which is carried the string course of the tower, accommodating itself as a hood-mould. In the north-east corner of the tower is a staircase communicating with the summit; the tower arch, which springs from the wall, is remarkably good, with bold mouldings, the smallest of which measures two feet.

"Two niches, and part of a third, with circular trefoiled heads, remain in the eastern wall, forming a portion of the reredos, and at the south side are indications of a square recess, once holding the piscina.

"In the little churchyard 'girt round with a bare ring of mossy wall,' are the remains of a stone cross of the same period as the church, on a substantial platform of three steps. Tradition has it that the church and adjacent village were both destroyed by fire; whether this was so, or by the blind rage of fanaticism this house of prayer was laid low, I have not been able to discover, but time has made sad havoc here, and its proximity to the stormy shore hastens the work of destruction. The mouldings of the north jamb of the door have suffered much in this respect.

. . . 'the wasting sea breeze keen
Had worn the pillar's carving quaint
And moulded in his niche the saint,
And rounded with consuming power
Each pointed angle of the tower.'

"At the time of Collinson's *History*, and even in the memory of the writer, 'this was the place of sepulture of the poor of Walton parish, whose bones rest here more quietly than those enshrined within the mausoleums of the great. For here no spade, inquisitive of earth's contents, disturbs the hallowed soil, which is but seldom trod even by the foot of the antiquary, and the traveller who visits this solitary domain is welcomed by no other sounds than the howling of the winds, the roaring of the sea, the lowing of the cattle, and the bleating of the sheep upon the neighbouring mountains.'

"A doorway, the font, and some sculpture, removed from the old church, are now preserved in the new church of Walton-in-Gordano, in the valley."

Since writing these lines a large neighbourhood of modern villas has sprung up, and to supply the necessary church

Collinson's *Somerset*, vol. iii., p. 171.

accommodation the old ruin has been restored, retaining and completing the tower, preserving the fragment of the east wall, though only retaining one of the niches, and adding a chancel, north aisle, and porch. Over the inner doorway of the latter is preserved some sculpture representing the Decollation of St. Paul, which I believe was found in the ruins. The church was rebuilt in 1869, and consecrated November 3rd, 1870; for some unknown reason receiving the dedication of St. Mary, in place of its former one of St. Paul.

Many enquiries having been made during our visit to these churches "in Gordano" as to the origin of that designation, it may be well to put on record here that the subject has been treated by the Right Rev. Bishop Hobhouse, in the *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, vol. xxxix., p. 61.

He there shows that Collinson has overlooked the force in the preposition "in," which implies a region, not a family. "The family is more likely to have taken name from the region than the region from the family." The name is not found in *Domesday*, and the earliest record is A.D. 1270, where the manor is described as "Eston Gordeyne." He gives nineteen references, sixteen of which are *Gorden*, or nearly so, only one being spelt Gordano, and two Gordon. "The area is one plainly marked by natural features, viz., two ridges diverting from Walton enclosing a level marsh, and forming a rude triangle, with the river Avon for its very irregular base."

Professor Earle adds that "Gore," in Anglo-Saxon *Gâra*, was a triangular piece of land, shaped into a *gâr*, or spearhead. Such a piece, let into a garment is called by seamstresses a "gore."

The "Den," a deep wooded valley, well describes its position between the two hills.

The Dawn of Egyptian History in the Light of Recent Discoveries.

BY FRANCIS FOX TUCKETT, F.R.G.S.

(*Read November 24th, 1898.*)

PART I.

In submitting to you some notes on the progress accomplished during the last four or five years in throwing additional light not only on the earliest period of the Egyptian occupation, but even on still more ancient dwellers in the Nile Valley, I must frankly disclaim all pretension to bring forward any discoveries of my own, and ask you to be so kind as to accept what I have to offer as a sort of text, to accompany and explain the specimens I propose to exhibit of the earliest known Egyptian and pre-Egyptian art products and tools, with which recent excavations have made us acquainted.

As the tombs of the earlier Pharaonic Dynasties have been more extensively and systematically examined during the last thirty years, it has become evident that, so far from a marked progress in artistic skill in portraiture having been attained by a process of gradual development, there was a distinct decadence during the middle and later kingdom (Old Dynasty, I-XI; Middle Dynasty, XII-XIX; New Dynasty, XX-XXX), accompanied by a spirit of frigid formalism and mere mechanical perfection of finish from which the earlier life-like vitality had passed away. Thus there arose the marvellous enigma of an ascent in the highest qualities of glyptic art the further one goes back towards the beginning of the history of Egypt, whilst amidst the

obscurity of those dimly-lighted periods, evidence was, till recently, lacking as to the steps by which such a high development had been reached, for nothing seemed to come before it but the *rude* flint (chert) implements of some earlier palæolithic race, of which these were the only remaining traces.

Naturally, this blank, amongst other arguments, suggested that the Egyptians of history were a conquering immigrant race, who had brought an already well-developed civilization with them into the Valley of the Nile. According to some distinguished Egyptologists, amongst whom is my friend, Professor Flinders Petrie, this migration was in a northerly direction, probably starting from the "sacred land" of Punt, or Pūn, which is supposed to have been a district at the south end of the Red Sea, and may have embraced both the African and Arabian shores, and, as respects the former, be located in the region now known as Somaliland. Other authorities incline rather to a Chaldean origin, founding their opinion on the Semitic elements in their civilization, such as the use of engraved cylinders, the suspected practice in early times of cremation of the monarch,¹ the external recessed construction of their tombs, the employment of sun-dried bricks, and that of ivory-footed chairs, all striking points of resemblance to the Chaldean type, and suggesting a community of origin with it. Be this as it may, it is curious that in the myth of Horus (son of Osiris) of Edfou, as recorded in an inscription on the walls of its temple, it is stated that he conquered Set-Typhon, the dismemberer of his father's corpse, "with the help of his *mesniti-u*," who, as M. Maspero has shown, were a body of smiths who accompanied him. One can readily imagine that invaders from the Red Sea, led by the mythic Horus against the native god, Set, and possessing arms of metal, would easily conquer the neolithic inhabitants provided only with weapons of flint. One recalls

¹ *De Morgan*, II., 157, and *El Kab*. (Plate VII-VIII.)

the speech of Solon to Croesus, when the monarch showed him his treasure of gold: "Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this."

There is much evidence, especially amongst the earlier monuments, that the art of construction had dealt first with wood as a material, and it was suggested that, as stone may have been scarce in their former place of abode, terra cotta might have been the medium used in the development of the representation of the human figure. If this view be accepted, it is evident that, given the skill acquired by practice in two such materials as wood and clay, the invaders, on making themselves masters of Egypt, with its boundless and easily accessible supply of limestone, sandstone and granite, not to mention alabaster, porphyry, basalt, diorite, etc., would naturally avail themselves of these for purposes of sculpture, no less than for those of architecture, and to some extent gradually abandon the use of the more perishable or fragile substances previously employed. On this supposition, however, it might not unreasonably be expected that, sooner or later, some traces of the terra cotta period might be brought to light as evidence of a possible transition between those of wood and stone.

It was partly from this idea that Koptos, on the right or east bank of the Nile, about thirty miles north of Thebes, was selected, in 1893, by Professor Flinders Petrie for his own and Mr. Quibell's investigations in that and the following year. For, as it was at this point that the early used and much frequented route from Koseir on the Red Sea through Wady Hammamat reached the Valley of the Nile, it occurred to the bright imagination of that born archæologist that precisely here ought to be found some of the earliest traces of the arts or handicrafts of the immigrant foreigners. In fact, beneath the pavement of a temple were found "a remarkable class of earthenware figures," which, after careful discussion, the discoverers assign to the Third or beginning of the Fourth Dynasty. This "find" comprised specimens ranging from "the rudest

pinched and scratched puppets" up to "modelling as fine as that of the grand works of the Fourth Dynasty . . . constituting a series of developing art," and leading to "the conclusion that the art of modelling arose in clay work." As Professor Petrie puts it, "such a history is exactly concordant with the Third Dynasty, where it appears somewhat stiff and archaic, but still with full power of modelling and technical treatment. Its early stages are nowhere to be seen ; but, where we recognise in the clay modelling the development from rude imitations of forms to highly developed art, we have at once a school before us in which the skill of the stone sculptor may have been formed." Evidence of such consecutive treatment of stone is, indeed, at hand in "(1) the advance of the left leg of the figure, (2) the union of the two legs by a connecting slab, and (3) the back buttress or pier behind the figure, none of which has a meaning in stone work." The argument and its results are thus summed up by Professor Petrie in "*Koptos*," page 6. "The general result, then, to which we are led, is that during some considerable period before the Third Dynasty art was developing in pottery modelling, from the rudest imitations of men and animals, gradually modified by copying the muscles and rounding the forms until it had reached a high pitch of observation and finish. That on the beginning of the common use of metal the mastery of hewing stone was obtained, and stone became the best material for statuary in such conditions. The skill and taste which had been developed on pottery was transferred to stone at once, so that in probably a single generation a highly finished stone statuary would become usual without leaving any intermediate stages of abortive attempts and clumsy endeavours. And this beginning of stone carving may be placed about the middle of the Third Dynasty, the conventions requisite in clay modelling clinging, however, to the style in stone, and being retained to subsequent ages. Thus we reach a solution of what has hitherto been one of the greatest mysteries in the course of art—how such a

finished and detailed style, and such a grave taste could arise without leaving a long series of endeavours, as in all other countries. The endeavours were made in pottery which has all perished, or been disregarded hitherto. The stone begins when the art was already developed." If I may venture to differ from so high an authority, or rather attempt to modify his interpretation of the facts, I would submit that, as the "common use of metal" amongst the invading race appears to have existed prior to their arrival, the art of modelling in clay may also have been brought in a developed stage with them, and the skill so attained exercised on stone, when, on first settling in the valley of the Nile, they found supplies of that material which were lacking in their earlier home.

Before quitting the subject of Koptos, I should, perhaps, also refer to the discovery there of figures of animals and three statues, roughly hammered out of stone, of Min the great god of that region, whose figure is somewhat similar to that of Ptah, and who is regarded as a personification of the continual self-renewing power of nature. From the former, and the symbols associated with the latter, it seems evident that the race which produced them must have entered Egypt from the Red Sea, and, probably, resided for several centuries at Koptos, an interval which might be fairly represented by the difference in modelling between the earliest of the Min statues and the latest and finest clay figures.

Having thus dealt with the question of the earliest art of the ancient Egyptians at their first place of settlement on the Nile, and its and their probable origin and line of approach, we now come to the yet more recent discoveries by the same energetic investigators, which have disclosed the existence of a people of Libyan affinities, and possibly origin, who preceded the Pharaonic Egyptians, and, though probably also themselves intruders on the yet earlier palæolithic inhabitants of the country, were, and had long been, in occupation of it when the new comers arrived, and

continued to exist amongst the latter, possibly up to the middle of the Third Dynasty, after which the peculiar type of their pottery has not been met with.

During the season of 1894-5, Professor Petrie, again in conjunction with Mr. Quibell, and with the assistance of several other helpers, carried out very thorough and extensive excavations on the west bank of the Nile, and not far from Koptos, in the district extending from Ballas on the north, to the neighbourhood of the temple of Nubt, which lies about halfway between the former and Nagada to the south, and, in four or five months' work, accomplished the astonishing feat of laying bare and most carefully and systematically recording the plans and contents of nearly three thousand graves and two towns. In the copiously illustrated volume—"Nagada and Ballas"—issued in 1896, these tombs and their occupants were ascribed to an invading people, which Professor Petrie, a little unfortunately perhaps as the event has proved, "tentatively" called the "New Race," consisting, as he supposed, of a body of Libyan invaders who had established themselves in upper Egypt, between the Old and Middle Kingdom, or between the Sixth Dynasty, which ended about 3322 B.C., and before the rise of the Tenth Dynasty, which ruled the Thebaid from about 3006 B.C. From the absence of evidence of the contemporary existence of Pharaonic Egyptians, it was assumed that these conquerors had either exterminated their predecessors or driven them into some other part of the Nile Valley. As will presently be seen, the production of fresh evidence by further research, both by Mr. Quibell in 1897, and M. de Morgan and others a year earlier, has completely overturned this provisional conclusion, and Professor Petrie has been prompt to acknowledge that we are here face to face with a race, very possibly of Libyan origin indeed, but occupying the land long before the Egyptians of History had migrated into it, and surviving side by side with the latter for several hundred years, and, perhaps, even up to nearly 4000 B.C.

I will now proceed to indicate as concisely as possible the special characteristics of these interments, beginning with those of the cemetery at Ballas, as described by Mr. Quibell.

1. The skeletons were generally found lying on the left side, with head to the south and face to the west, the arms and legs sharply bent, the hands before the face, and the knees brought up in front of the chest.

2. The graves were usually about 5 by $3\frac{1}{2}$, by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep, but occasionally 10 by 8, by 6 to 8 ft. deep, and their axis was generally, but not universally, and roughly from north to south.

3. Portions of skeletons were often missing and the heads detached, whilst coffins were very rare.

4. Chips of malachite and ground ditto for painting round the eyes were frequent.

5. Hair pins and combs of bone and ivory, beads, largely of stone—carnelian, steatite, serpentine, and clay mostly, but also alabaster, limestone, garnet, agate, hæmatite, malachite, gold, lapis lazuli, silver, ivory, etc.—abound, their shapes being very often un-Egyptian.

6. In the pottery one of the most distinctive features is the horizontal piercing of the handles, as if for suspension, and no knowledge of the potter's wheel seems to have existed, whilst the handwork shows a high degree of skill. It comprised several varieties, including: (a) rough jars, mostly conical and generally containing ashes, probably the remains of feasts; (b) wavy-handled vases, filled with some aromatic fat or butter-like substance, the scent of which is still perceivable; (c) red and black pottery, the predominant type, especially in the later interments; (d) red polished pottery like the preceding, but without the black patches; (e) painted and decorated vases—whitey-brown, with pattern laid on in rude lines or designs. Amongst the latter are birds boats, figures and plants. The last, being represented as, planted in pots, seem rather to have puzzled the discoverers, but Professor Schweinfurth, who examined the specimen I exhibit, pronounced them to be probably aloes in flower.

Many of the jars have potters' marks incised on them with a sharp point, probably of flint, to which I will again refer when speaking of Nagada or, rather, Nubt.

7. Two female figures of clay painted red, also found in one tomb, are specially remarkable for their abnormally bulky thighs, "*Nagada and Ballas*." (Plate VI.) Some others of a different type (Plate LIX), seem to show evidence of tattooing, and illustrate the Arab description of beauty—"a slender waist and heavy hips."

8. Finally, the list includes sets of games, bracelets of ivory, shells—all, be it remarked, of Red Sea or Nile and none of Mediterranean species, according to M. de Morgan's subsequent determination—so-called mace heads of hard limestone, spinning whorls, cones with holes for attachment and drilled internal concavity—possibly plugs to secure the leg-holes of waterskins. I feel some doubt as to the use of the "mace heads," the holes in them being scarcely sufficiently large for the insertion of a stick stout enough for practical purposes, besides being sub-conical in section and therefore narrowest where they meet in the centre. May they not possibly have been attached to the two extremities of a cord used, like the "bolas" of the natives and Gauchos of South America, for the entanglement of the legs of game?¹

Turning now to the Nubt cemeteries ("Nagada"), Professor Petrie writes:—"The graves differ from any known to us of the Egyptians. So unusual are their characteristics that we walked over the cemeteries for some weeks without suspecting their nature. In place of burying on a rising ground, or in the face of a cliff, as the Egyptians always did when possible, the new cemeteries are mainly in the gravel shoals of the stream courses. Instead of placing the body in a cave or hollow, the typical tombs are vertical pits, with the body laid on the floor; and the pit in all

¹ See Sir G. Wilkinson's "*Ancient Egyptians*," (1875 edit.) vol. ii., p. 36, figure 353.

wealthy graves was roofed over with beams and brushwood, a system wholly foreign to the Egyptians. In place of preserving the body intact and embalming it, the bodies are usually more or less cut up and destroyed. In place of burying at full length with head rest and mirror, the bodies are all contracted and accompanied by many jars of ashes. In every possible detail of arrangement and of object there is not one common point of similarity with the Egyptians; and no connection with Egypt would have been suspected if the cemeteries had been found in any other country. In speaking thus generally I exclude the later class of graves in which a copying of a few Egyptian forms may be noticed, and the copying by the Egyptians of the later form of some vases of the "New People." So far as the whole of the earlier and larger part of the graves are concerned, there is not a single form, material or detail which speaks of Egypt."

Professor Petrie's observations bring out the following points:—

1. The skulls seem, in some cases, to have been placed in the graves separately—perhaps some time after burial—and the lower arms and hands often appear to have been previously removed, and possibly the trunk, also, was cut to pieces. Further, from some collections of split, broken and apparently gnawed bones, Professor Petrie considers "that bodies were sometimes, with all respect, cut up and eaten"—a view, however, which has not, I believe, been generally accepted.

2. He suggests that the parallel lines of the pottery were put on by using a group of brushes varying in number, as all the small waves and shakes are parallel.

3. In reference to the later pottery, Professor Petrie remarks that "to the most casual view there is an entire difference between the style of this and the earlier type. In the latter there is an abundance of the rich, polished-red and black-tipped pottery, while the fancy forms, the white lined patterns, the black, incised bowls, and the

decorated vases all give variety and interest to the groups. In the later age, all this has disappeared; a poverty and ugliness of form are spread over all, and occasional links with the Egyptian pottery of the Old Kingdom are traceable.

4. The exquisite flint implements of the "New People," or "Pre-Dynastic Race," as Professor Petrie now calls them, which seem to have attained the acme of perfection about the time of the irruption of the Egyptian invaders, gradually became lower in type and execution, till at length they may probably have died out of use as the earlier people became absorbed amongst, or were destroyed or driven out by the conquerors, or have been, at any rate, partially abandoned in the face of the practical superiority of metals.

5. The peculiarly formed pieces or "palettes" of slate or schist found in the graves, and frequently held by the hands of the corpse in front of his face, appear, according to our author, to have been used for grinding malachite, as evidenced by patches upon them of the colour of that mineral, and the worn hollows which often occur on their surface. The forms are most various, from rhombs, often of large dimensions, to animal figures, including ibex or moufflon, deer, elephant, turtle, fish, birds, single and double, squares, etc. Of these, the rhombs and well-formed animal figures occur principally in the earlier interments, and in the following order of frequency—fishes, rhombs, double birds, squares, turtles, single birds, elephants, deer, ibex.

6. Whilst the objects just described are usually found placed before the face of the skeleton, the neolithic flint tools and so-called mace heads are generally found behind the body. Palæolithic flint implements are, as has of late years been ascertained, found in abundance both on the top of the plateaux 1,400 feet in height bounding the Nile valley, in the old shore line high Nile gravels, and near Ballas on spurs about 900 feet high. The specimens I exhibit, however, are presumably of neolithic manufacture and were probably the common domestic implements of the

people, strikingly resembling in type, though not in material, those used by the Tasmanians up to the time of their final extinction, some thirty years ago. Small serrated flints, such as formed the cutting edge of reaping hooks also occur, showing that flint sickles were used before the advent of the Egyptians, who kept up the practice themselves. The more delicately wrought flints from the graves are, as Professor Petrie says, "the finest examples of such work that are known from any country or age." The knives with "ripple mark" or "fluted" flaking, the serrated edged dagger, and the arrow, or more probably lance-heads of "fish-tail" type, with minutely notched edges, which I exhibit, are marvels of delicate work. The first are so eagerly sought after, that, having myself assisted a few years ago at the sale to an English acquaintance of three specimens for £30, I have this year, in endeavouring to obtain a specimen for Mr. Balfour of the Oxford Museum, been asked at Luxor £25 for a single very fine and very perfect one, and, even with the help of my friend Brugsch Bey of the Ghizeh Museum, could not get an offer of another smaller one for less than £15, whilst he informed me that they had themselves paid £80 for five specimens now in the national collection. The question of the mode of their production is so interesting that I will not apologize for quoting the following remarks in "*Nagada and Ballas*" by Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell, whose authority is unquestionable. "A fine flake having been struck from the original block, the surface being smooth, the flint free from flaws or irregularities, and a ridge or guiding line formed by a previously lifted flake, the worker was able to dress a knife-face in fluted lines for a distance of two or three inches from the starting point, extending sometimes completely across the blade. Unless the surface was smooth this perfectly regular fluting was not attainable; knives were therefore first carefully chipped over until the desired outline and equal thinning of the edges and point were attained; then they were ground, probably on some such

stone as quartzite, as thin as possible with due regard to the future force to be employed, and with as little winding as possible; then they were fluted, sometimes on both sides, though commonly only on one, the other being left smooth in consequence of the thinness at which the blade had arrived allowing no further reduction." He adds, "It will be obvious that direct blows from a flint or other stone would be too clumsy a proceeding to be a satisfactory explanation of the accuracy of the work. A blow might have been delivered through an intervening substance, such as a pointed stone or metal, which would limit the area of impact and concentrate the force; but the smallness of the point and the thoroughness of the action *appear rather to be the result of pressure*. Whether that was delivered direct, or by means of a lever, cannot yet be determined. If we may judge from the present mode of trimming the edges of thick glass plates by pressure or "pinching," whereby fine regular fluting 2 inches deep is obtained, it is likely that the flint-workers did something of the sort; anyhow, the modern and ancient results look very much alike."

The arrow-heads are "tanged" (of which I show a good specimen), barbed, and shouldered, and the smaller double-pointed, forked, or "fish-tail" specimens are, doubtless, also used as such, being too small for javelins. Mr. Spurrell feels some doubt whether even the larger examples of this type were intended for javelins as "their weight has been so studiously reduced, contrary to the requirements of a spear-head." In any case, the forked form is very novel and curious, and it may be urged that it must have been too valuable to be used for arrow-heads, which might so easily be lost; whilst in one instance there is definite evidence of its employment for a lance, a specimen of that weapon thus pointed having been found with a long cord wound around it, and two alabaster knobs at the extremities (the whole being wrapped in a hide), so that it might be checked from flying too far if it missed the quarry, which was probably driven past the ambushed hunters. Professor

Petrie points out that the use of forked lances is mentioned in connection with North African hunting when Commodus shot ostriches with forked arrows in the Colosseum; and I called his attention to the following passage in Shakspeare's "*As you like it*," Act II., Scene 1, where the "forked heads" suggest some such form of weapon—

Duke, senior—

"Come, shall we go and kill us venison?
And yet it irks me, the poor dappled fools,
Being native burghers of this desert city,
Should in their own confines, with forked heads,
Have their round haunches gored."

The phrase may, of course, only be equivalent to barbed, for Dryden writes (in "*Assination*" iii., l.) "I am wounded with a forked arrow which will not easily be got out," whilst, in a complaint against W. Hartgill before the Protector Somerset, dated 1549, and now preserved at Longleat, Lord Stourton says—"My poor man, who kepith my houndes, . . . in his retorne, almost att my gates, Hartgill made great spede towards hym on horsback with his crose bow bent and forked arrow in the same,"¹ At any rate, the Japanese long used this form of arrow-head for inflicting more deadly wounds and cutting cords of flags, armour ties, etc., as the two specimens I exhibit and numerous illustrations in vol. iv., part 2. of the "*Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*," will serve to show. I should be glad to receive confirmatory evidence of the use of such weapons, whether for the chase or in war, in Europe during the Middle Ages. In the museum at Tiflis are some apparently similar iron lance-heads collected by M. Wyruboff from cemeteries of the Iron age.

The long, so-called knives and daggers, with edges finely serrated except at the tang or haft end, were apparently from this fact not intended for thrusting. In some examples the teeth are only 0·03 inch apart, and about 0·01 deep—

¹ "*Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*," vol. viii., page 296.

in a small fragment which I exhibit there are thirty-seven teeth to the inch, or only 0.027 apart—and are most regular in size and line. Some of the implements—and these are always made from the finest materials—have a recurved top like a gardener's knife.¹ Referring to the notched edges of these arrow or lance-heads, Mr. Spurrell considers that "it was evidently to a great extent a refinement or ornament, seeing that it is carried round the splayed points and backwards, where it could be of no service."

A flint ring has also been found, 2½ in. in diameter, which has been ground smooth, and may perhaps have been made by chipping one naturally formed around a central boss, of which I exhibit some specimens from the hills behind Luxor. Emery being known to this primitive people from its abundance in the Ægean, grinding and polishing after preliminary chipping were comparatively easy.

By way of conclusion to these remarks on the discoveries of Messrs. Petrie and Quibell, I must just refer to a very important point, the type of skull found in the cemeteries at Ballas and Nubt. In general, the capacity "is very much less than that of European, Mongol, or Egyptian skulls, and distinctly different to the Guanche. In fact, the Hindoo is the only race of any culture which can be compared with them." . . . "The size of the head is closely connected with the temperature of the habitation of a race, and their small size seems to indicate that they had probably dwelt in the hot plains of Africa, and the oases long enough to have acquired a thoroughly small head." The general conclusion seems to be that the crania "agree closely with the Algerian type, as does the associated pottery, both ancient and modern, and that there was no difference in capacity or orthognathism (verticality of jaw) between men and women, but that the heads of the former were slightly longer in shape. The nose was short and prominently aquiline, but not wide."

It has become increasingly apparent with the progress

¹ "*Nagada and Ballas*," Plate LXXIV., fig. 82.

of excavation that the numbers and distribution of interments of this description, and the various objects discovered indicate the existence of a large population spread over the whole of Upper Egypt, which was continuously occupied by them, and that the distinction between them and the subsequent Egyptian civilization is complete, until the two races may perhaps for a time have overlapped, and mutually influenced one another. The products from the later tombs of the earlier race certainly show signs of imitation of those of the Egyptian Old Kingdom, and the fact of the pottery, in some of the later interments, being made on the wheel rather strengthens this supposition. Professor Petrie, therefore, seems inclined, on the whole, to consider that appearances indicate the contemporaneous existence of the two peoples in the Nile Valley for a period of several centuries.

PART II.

Hitherto, I have pretty much confined myself to a statement of the results which appear to have been arrived at from a discussion of the excavations by Professor Flinders Petrie and Mr. Quibell, as recorded in their important volume. Since its publication, however, in 1896, there has appeared a work by M. de Morgan, late Directeur Général des Antiquités de l'Égypte, in two volumes, the first published in 1896 under the title "*Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte ; l'Age de la Pierre et des Metaux*," and the second in 1897, entitled "*Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte ; Ethnographie préhistorique et Tombeau royal de Négadah*." In these, after bringing forward evidence to show, at least the high probability of, if not positively to demonstrate, the existence in various portions of the Nile Valley of palæolithic stations of quaternary man—"l'homme chellien"—M. de Morgan proceeds to indicate throughout the 800 kilomètres, or 500 miles, between Cairo and Thebes (Luxor), as well as in the Fayoum, the existence of some thirty other continuous and later prehistoric settlements of the

neolithic age, corresponding, in fact, with those of the provisionally named "New People" of Professor Petrie, now admitted by him to have preceded the Egyptians of the records. In his second volume M. de Morgan deals with some eighty prehistoric stations in Egypt, characterized by the presence of neolithic stone implements, and in his Preface, referring to differences of opinion between Professor Petrie and himself, admirably remarks, "Our discussions have been couched in courteous language, and I have facilitated his researches to the utmost of my power, believing that science would benefit by entire impartiality. This course is the only one admissible in the scientific world, where opposition of views and even vivacity of discussion ought never to exclude a spirit of equity in principle and courtesy in form." He points out that the art of fashioning implements of silex was most highly developed in the territory on the west or left bank of the Nile, between Nagada and Kawamil, which appears to have formed an early focus of civilization, in which it is not surprising that the invading Egyptians should have first fixed the centre of their government. The introduction of metals by no means put an end to the use of tools of silex, which was probably continued for ages, not only amongst the poorer classes, but also for certain purposes of religious ceremonial. The remarkable royal tomb opened by M. de Morgan at Nagada in 1897, of which more presently, did not contain a single instrument of metal, whilst in those at Abydos, excavated by M. Amélineau, copper begins to assume considerable importance; and in the interments of the Third Dynasty silex almost disappears. "In those very ancient tombs where metal is abundant the working of the silex implements is already less perfect than in the earlier interments. The highest degree of skill in the manufacture of these tools seems to have been attained very shortly after the period of the Egyptian invasion." In connection with this I may call attention to the fact pointed out to me by Professor Schweinfurth, that the peculiar vase handles of tube-like construction in

the early pottery, as though to serve for the attachment of cords, are never met with after the middle of the Third Dynasty. At the same time we must bear in mind that in Part III., p. 33 of the great Memoir on the Twelfth Dynasty Tombs of Beni Hassan, Mr. F. Ll. Griffiths expresses the opinion that the wall-paintings of tomb number 15 show evidences of the production of flint tools at that date. M. de Morgan, however, contends that the objects in process of manufacture are wooden bowls, and that the knives shown in use are of bronze or other metal, as indicated by the juxtaposition of sharpeners worn at the waist by the butchers. This is a nice point, and I confess that the latter suggestion seems to me the more probable of the two; but I exhibit the illustrations in question for your examination and opinion. In this connection, and as giving additional probability to Mr. Griffiths' interpretation of some other paintings, may be cited the discovery by Professor Petrie of flint tools in the Twelfth Dynasty houses of Kahun, Gurob, and Illahun in the Fayoum, their forms being evidently influenced by the contemporary types of those of bronze. (Note A.)

In discussing the excavations of Messrs. Petrie and Quibell at the cemeteries of Ballas, and those around the temple at Nubt, M. de Morgan, whilst bearing high testimony to their method, intelligence and conscientiousness, and expressing his entire agreement with their statements of fact, dissents altogether from their original conclusion as to the priority of the Egyptian Pharaonic race. He further contends that the absence from the graves of objects of Egyptian type, or showing Egyptian influence in their arts and industries, coupled with the borrowing from the latter by the invaders, indicates that they did not live side by side, that there was no connection between them, and that, consequently, they were not even contemporaries. This conclusion is, of course, wholly opposed to Professor Petrie's original provisional theory as to their date, which, as already explained, has since been frankly surrendered by its author in the light of further discussion and discoveries, including those by his

friend Mr. Quibell at El Kâb in 1897, and Kûm el Ahmar (Hieraconpolis) in 1898. Thus the priority of this ancient people may be now considered to be accepted as resting on a firm basis, and their date be assigned to between 4,000 and 6,000, or, possibly, 7,000 years B.C. If then, as is held by many authorities, Abraham was a contemporary of several monarchs of the XIIth Dynasty, these pre-Egyptian folk must have preceded him by about as long an interval as that separating him from the Christian era. M. de Morgan by no means contends that the race whose customs and products, skeletons and racial affinities we have been discussing were the aboriginal or autochthonous population of Egypt, but, whilst looking upon them as invaders who drove out or subdued their predecessors, declines, in the present stage of our knowledge, to assign to them a special origin by characterizing them as Libyans.

The following is the classification of the interments at which he has arrived. In the most ancient, the bodies were buried in graves excavated amidst deposits of rolled pebbles between the cultivated land and the foot of the bounding hills, and, before sepulture, had been enveloped—like those of the Guanches of the Canary Islands—and sewn up in skins of gazelles and then in reed mats. In the second class, the contents occasionally yield objects in bronze and gold, and indicate the rise of new customs, such as the previous removal of the flesh and a more or less complete dismemberment of the skeleton, with the curious exception of the bones of the hands and feet. The separation of the head from the spinal column does not appear to M. de Morgan to be artificial, as the cervical vertebræ remain intact; and the idea is suggested that, in many cases, the skeleton was taken to pieces to economize space. In some stations, such as Kawamil, the graves are entirely enclosed by walls of sun-dried brick, whilst covered clay kists have also been met with, the contents of which were equally in confusion. The funeral furniture of this second class of interments differs entirely from that of the preceding one,

especially in the pottery, and flint tools are the exception; metal is relatively abundant, and stone vases abound, in these respects showing striking analogies with the contents of the now famous royal tomb of Nagada. This last was excavated by M. de Morgan and several assistants, and is believed by those—including so high an authority as M. Maspero—who have faith in the supposed portion of a cartouche on a fragment of ivory found in it by Herr Borchardt, to be the actual burial place of Mena, the first Pharaonic sovereign of Egypt, though some leading Egyptologists, such as Professor Wiedemann, are still sceptical, and my friend M. Naville, as we stood together before the precious relic, remarked with characteristic caution—“*quant à moi je ne suis pas de cet avis.*”

The practice of breaking up the corpse or removing the flesh is not unknown to the neolithic sepultures of Italy, and is found also in those of Champagne, whilst it is reported to be still practised by the Patagonians, the natives of the Andaman Islands, and even the Maoris. The fact of the placing of offerings in the tomb indicates that there existed a belief in a future state of existence and hence of a superior or divine intelligence.

The curious series of objects in schist, which Professor Flinders Petrie holds to be palettes, are supposed by M. de Morgan to be rather amulets or talismans, in spite of the green stains of malachite still visible on some of them, and the depressions on the surface apparently caused by rubbing. The preservation of such stains for so vast a period as seven thousand years or more is nearly paralleled by marks of the green rust of the bronze saws, used for cutting the stones of the basalt pavement surrounding the Pyramid of Khufu at Ghizeh some six thousand years ago, being still visible, as the specimen I exhibit will show.

In some cases, specially referred to in the Appendix to M. de Morgan's second volume, by Professor Wiedemann of Bonn, a very high authority, the corpse appears to have been consumed in the grave—a practice as totally different

from that of the later Pharaonic Egyptians as the two other modes of dealing with the dead already described, any lesion of the body being subsequently held to be a crime, as affecting the hope of future existence of the deceased. The myth of the dismemberment by Set or Typhon of the body of Osiris, the first divine king considered as anthropomorphic, whose tomb has recently been found at Abydos by M. Amélineau (Note B.), may possibly indicate some misty traditional reference to the ancient practice which, as we have seen, existed amongst the older neolithic or pre-dynastic population of the Nile Valley at the time of its conquest by the invaders from the Red Sea. But, just as the climate of Egypt necessitated some such later process as that of embalming when the preservation of the body became all important; so, before the adoption by the invaders of the latter process, which does not seem to have been employed during the greater part of the Old Empire, the same need, which, in a sanitary point of view, rendered the preservation of a complete corpse impossible, may have been met by the earlier people either by the complete removal of the flesh or by burning the body. An adequate discussion of this curious question would, however, be beyond the purpose of such a paper as the present, and, having I fear, already tried rather severely the patience of my hearers, I must now merely refer in more detail to the great Nagada tomb which has excited, and deservedly, so much interest during the last year. Professor Wiedemann, let me parenthetically mention, entirely disbelieves in the existence of cannibalism amongst the neolithic folk, as at first suggested by Professor Petrie to account for the strange confusion of the bones in their graves, and he attributes this disorder to the removal of the flesh for the reason already assigned. He explains the imperfection of many of the skeletons by recalling a practice, very widely spread amongst primitive peoples, of so-called "secondary" burial. The defunct was primarily interred in the neighbourhood of his home within the

cultivated area, and then, when the body was sufficiently decomposed, the bones were collected, cleaned, and removed to the necropolis to be deposited in their definite resting place. This explanation, however, seems inapplicable to those graves where the evidence goes to show immediate and final burial of the corpse after the removal of the flesh.

The practice of burning the body, if, indeed, it actually existed, seems to have been restricted to deceased monarchs. We know that the burning of funeral offerings was a widely-spread and long-continued practice, and the "great burning" made for Asa (2 Chr. xvi., 14.) may probably have been of this nature, whilst no such ceremony was observed under the Jewish monarchy in the case of disgraced or unpopular monarchs, such as Jehoram (2 Chr. xxi., 19.) The bodies themselves do not seem to have been burned except in the instance of Saul and Jonathan, and then only as a precaution against violence, and so as to leave the bones for interment and subsequent exhumation for more solemn entombment (1. Samuel xxxi., 12, 13).

THE ROYAL TOMB OF NAGADA.

In March, 1897, M. de Morgan, assisted by Professor Wiedemann of Bonn and by MM. Jéquier and Lampre, established himself at Nagada for a methodical exploration of two cemeteries, one of the indigenous population, and the other, and more northerly, of the earliest Egyptians. Whilst so occupied, M. de Morgan noticed in a little "tell" or mound (De Morgan ii., p. 156), situated to the north of the latter necropolis, the remains of a monument of sun-dried brick, which at once suggested a connection with the earliest period of Egyptian civilization. The external faces (54 by 27 metres, or 177 by 89 ft.) consisted of a series of deep niches between salient crenellations, like some of the stelæ of the Old Kingdom, the whole masked by an external wall which filled in to a uniform flat surface all the hollows, though for what purpose, except possibly concealment, it is difficult to guess. The summit was covered

with burnt bricks and fragments of pottery, the whole bearing the traces of a violent conflagration, which there was evidence to show must have occurred in primitive times, and probably on the death of the personage for whom the tomb was constructed, though this is denied by both Professor Dörpfeld and Herr Borchardt. The twenty-one chambers of the monument contained an immense number of objects—vases of granite, porphyry, and clay vitrified by the intense heat, and objects in ivory, alabaster, tortoiseshell, wood, etc., less exposed to the action of the fire. One large central chamber has two smaller ones on each side in the direction of the length, and these five, formerly connected by doors, are entirely surrounded by sixteen smaller ones, which enclose them in a rectangle. In the middle of the central chamber, M. de Morgan himself found some fragments of vases and the calcined débris of a human skeleton, some phalanges of a right hand, fragments of a skull, teeth, and some unrecognizable portions of bone. Amongst the contents of the five inner chambers were objects in silver, ivory, shell, bone, vases of stone, alabaster, obsidian, etc., a large number of jars secured and corked by means of cones of clay (of which more presently), plaques of schist and ivory,¹ seals, cups of various materials, feet of chairs, beads, ebony boards, fragments of copper cups, bottles and figures in rock crystal, and abundance of stuffs of four or five different qualities, etc. Whilst there was evidence that some of the fragments of vases were due to the effect of the conflagration, others had previously been intentionally broken. Inscriptions are tolerably abundant, and are found as impressions on clay tablets, which were probably affixed as labels to bundles, as well as on the numerous clay cones which closed the amphoræ,² the impression being in both cases obtained by rolling an engraved cylinder, like those so abundant in Chaldea, on the soft surface. There are some incised marks on the jars themselves which probably

¹ 549, Mena?

² De Morgan ii., p. 166, 172, 234; illustration.

indicate the nature of the contents, but are at present quite undecipherable. The ivory plates are also engraved with signs, and evidently also served as labels. Six different cylinder impressions have been distinguished by M. Jéquier, characterized by representations of what has been called the royal banner and various signs, birds, animals, utensils, the façade of a house with two doors, etc.¹

The large number of vases and fragments found in this royal tomb constitute an important series of documents, both as indicating its age and because it has never been violated. The clay-sealed amphoræ are many hundreds in number, and are also met with in the royal tombs of Abydos. They appear to have been filled with provisions, Professor Schweinfurth having recognized amongst the incinerated contents remains of bunches of grapes, wheat, barley, flour, etc. The red vases painted with black of the earlier race appear also here, but seem to have been subsequently abandoned by the conquerors, as no traces of them are met with in the *mastabas* of the Third and Fourth Dynasties. The stone vases have especially suffered from the intense heat, but it has been possible to determine that a dozen or more materials have been used in their construction, and some of these must have been imported as, for instance, obsidian, which seems to have occupied somewhat the same position as jade in neolithic times. A class of globular stone vases is similar to those of the earlier inhabitants, and is distinguished by the same tubular appendages for suspension. The latter have probably served as a model, the ceramic type, preceding that of stone, having been doubtless copied by the invading Egyptians. The flint knives are not only of the same type, but their proportions and curvature coincide in all respects. The curved form is the more ancient, and the inferior ones with cut away handles which I exhibit are of later and Egyptian manufacture, and evidence the gradual abandonment of the use of this material.

¹ De Morgan ii., 168-69-70.

The excavations of M. Amélineau in 1895-6, at Om-el-Gáab, two kilomètres west of the temple of Seti I. at Abydos, have brought to light a series of tombs which it is very interesting to compare with those of Nagada. The royal ones, distinguished by their larger size, have been completely spoiled and contain scarcely any objects of interest. In one was found, sculptured on several fragments of wood, ivory, etc., as well as imprinted on clay vase caps, the name of a king Den, whose royal banner occurred on a large grey granite mortar, and many other impressions of cylinders showing the greatest analogy with those of the royal Nagada tomb, and containing the cartouches of other kings. Again, in another tomb, M. Amélineau came upon the stela of a king, whose name may perhaps be read as Dja, and two beautiful little carvings in ebony—a statuette of a woman and the head of a lion. Whilst the royal tombs have all undergone spoliation those of members of the royal family, great officers, and nobles have yielded much richer results, the objects found in them comprising, besides stelæ—the inscriptions on which are of so archaic a character as to be hitherto undecipherable—numerous fragments of vases in stone and alabaster—some in the form of ducks, human hands, etc.,—with incised inscriptions, ivory chair-feet and plaques, one of which bears the same symbols as those associated with the royal tomb of Nagada, vases of offerings, bronze instruments, a pair of gold scales, and a large number of arrow-heads of flint, together with a bracelet of the same material. The conflagration from which the four royal tombs have suffered is attributed by M. Amélineau to the Copts, but M. Jéquier and other authorities believe it to have taken place at the time of interment. In 1896-7, however, M. Amélineau discovered a tomb of a king, Ti, 83 metres (272 feet) in length. and 16 metres (52 feet) in breadth and containing no less than fifty-seven chambers. Though these had been violated, what remained of their original contents showed no sign of fire. These comprised two very large vases in alabaster, a great many objects in copper,

including four vases, twelve axe-heads, knives, scissors, awls, spiral needles, etc., together with some coarsely executed flint knives, and fragments of blue enamelled terra cotta objects, the earliest specimens of the art yet discovered. On an inscribed fragment of a crystal vase is the name of a king, which corresponds with that on the shoulder of the kneeling personage, who is classed as No. 1. in the catalogue of the Museum of Ghizeh, as being probably the most ancient specimen of statuary in the collection. It is interesting to note the presence of the titles of the Vulture and Uræus in the case of the banner of the king of the Nagada tomb—the supposed Mena—thus indicating the already existing union of the two divisions of the land under one sceptre. The tomb last described and discovered in 1896-7, is believed by M. Jéquier to be that of the first monarch of the Second Dynasty—Boethos of Manetho and Be'za'u of the famous list of Abydos—and the other royal sepulchres of Om-el-Gaab to be those of the kings of the First Dynasty, since they are certainly anterior. When in Egypt this year I was shown a very curious branched bronze stamp, or seal, said to have been found at Abydos, and representing the cartouche of Teta, who was either the second king of the first, or the first of the Sixth Dynasty, it being stated that Professor Sayce, who had also seen it, inclined to the former view, in which case it would be of surpassing interest.

Here, and none too soon for your patience, I fear, I must bring these notes to a close. We have been wandering this evening about one, and that, perhaps, the main fountain head of the stream of the world's history as shown in existing but only recently discovered records, and, if we can still peer but dimly into its depths, so unlike the limpid spring of Cyāne, we can yet see that 7,000 to 8,000 year's ago neolithic man, as made known to us by cemeteries of the pre-Egyptian race, was no mere savage. If there was war and invasion—which those milleniums have not yet banished—there was human affection as shewn in reverence to the dead, at any rate from a neolithic

point of view ; if there was dark superstition and little knowledge of definite religion, there was, seemingly, some sort of belief in a future state and therefore, presumably, in some power which ruled the destinies of the race ; if medical science and conservative surgery have left no traces of their existence, at any rate we find evidence that men could die of disease even unaided by professional skill, in the existence of clear traces of such a malady as tuberculosis, first detected by Dr. Fouquet of Cairo ; and that if materials were somewhat limited in range, high skill and even art of a considerable degree of merit were shown in their manipulation. So let not us, who sometimes seem to think of ourselves as a finished product of the ages, as the sort of terminus ad quem to which they have been leading up, forget that, as our vision penetrates further and further through the dimness of hoary antiquity and somewhat nearer to the terminus à quo, we come again and again on fresh evidence that "*vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*," and that the men who could patiently elaborate from flint such tools as are being found, possessed at least the potentiality of a higher civilization, and had already advanced immeasurably beyond a Simian type.

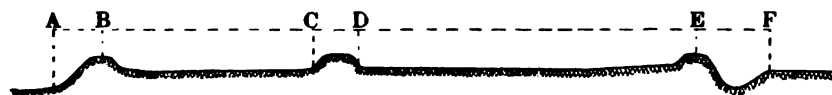
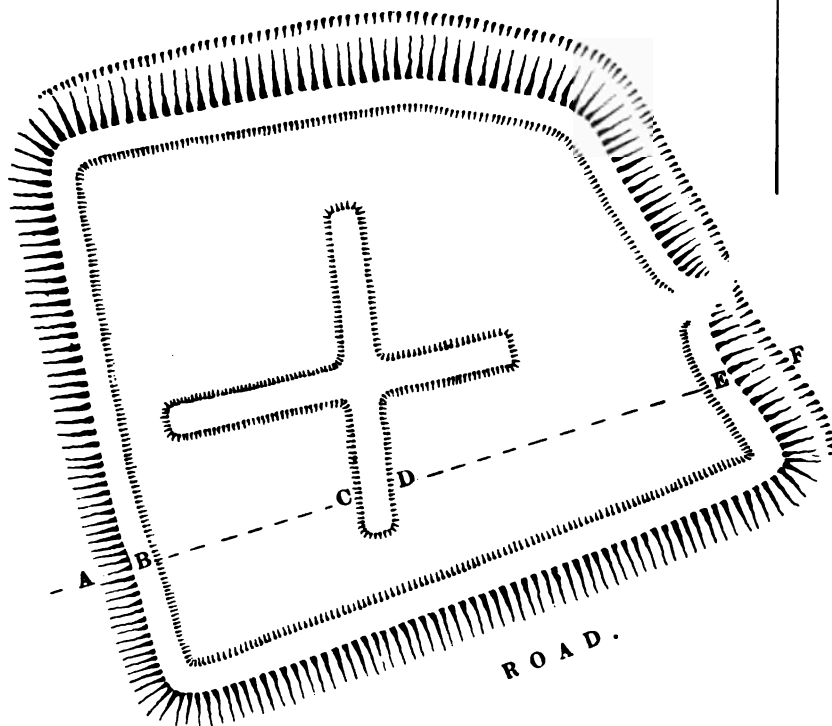
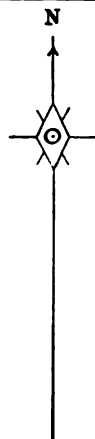
P.S.—As bearing on the question, when and under what influence the process of embalming the dead, or mummification, was first introduced amongst the Egyptians, it may be of interest to mention that distinct traces have been found in the skulls of the neolithic race of an attempt to preserve by the more or less complete removal of the brain and the insertion of bitumen. Whether, however, the subsequent practice of embalming by the conquering Egyptians was a development from this rude beginning, or whether, and how, the latter acquired or invented it for themselves must, at present, remain an open question.

NOTE A, p. 188.—In the "Archæological Report for 1897-98," of the Egypt Exploration Fund, Professor Flinders Petrie writes—"It is needful to remember that the presence of worked flint is

no criterion of age, and that to lump together all flint working in one class, 'Neolithic,' as M. de Morgan has done, is to flounder in confusion. After this pre-dynastic age, in which flint was mainly used, it is certain that flint and copper stood side by side, both used for their own suitable purposes through the Old and Middle Kingdoms; not until the New Empire, when bronze became used, did flint become subsidiary, and it was still worked freely down to later Roman times."

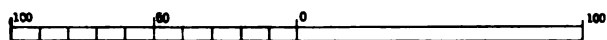
NOTE B, p. 191.—Mr. F. Ll. Griffith writes of Abydos—"The excavations of M. Amélineau have brought to light the "Tomb of Osiris," the very centre of the cult of the god. The hill of Umm el Ga'ab has proved to be a mass of offerings dedicated to Osiris; within it was found the tomb, an underground chamber reached by a short flight of fourteen steps, 80 cm. (31 in.) broad. Inside was a monument figuring Osiris lying on a couch. The ground round the staircase is enclosed on three sides by a kind of courtyard of crude brick which was entirely open on the east side, and had a passage way through the west side. It measured 12 by 14 metres; fourteen chambers are ranged along the three sides, five on the north, five on the south, and four on the east, the staircase being in the north-east corner. These chambers were, presumably, to contain the supplies for the tomb. Around lie about two hundred tombs of very early times, the Egyptians desiring to be buried near the "great staircase of Osiris."

*PLAN and SECTION of EARTHWORK
on
BANWELL HILL.*



SECTION. Vertical Scale, twice the Horizontal.

Scale of Feet.



The Cruciform Earthwork on Banwell Hill, Somerset.

BY A. T. MARTIN, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read April 24th, 1897.)

This somewhat remarkable earthwork has, for many years, excited the curiosity of antiquaries, and the remarks of the late Mr. Coote in his *Romans of Britian*, have invested it with a fresh interest by his suggestion that it is a boundary mark left to us by the Roman *agrimensores*. Mr. Coote's description, however, is somewhat inaccurate, and it has therefore seemed worth while to prepare as accurate a plan as possible of the work, and to collect and comment on previous descriptions by other antiquaries.

As far as I know, Sir Richard Hoare was the first to notice the work. In his *Ancient Wilts, Roman Æra*, 1821, p. 43, he says: "Before I quit this interesting eminence (Banwell Camp), I must not omit to take notice of a very singular little earthenwork situated on the same ridge of hill, but nearer the village of Banwell. Its form proclaims it to be Roman, but I cannot conceive for what use it was destined. It measures in circumference 230 yards, and the area comprehends nearly three-quarters of an acre."

He also gives a plan, which is incorrect in so far as it makes the surrounding mound symmetrical and rectangular, and also as to the proportion and position of the arms of the cross. His plan notices that the northern arm does not point due north, though the deviation is exaggerated. His estimate of the circumference is fairly correct.

200 *Cruciform Earthwork on Banwell Hill.*

Seyer, in his *History of Bristol*, vol. i., p. 85, describes the works as follows:—

“Returning towards Banwell along the top of the ridge, about a quarter of a mile distant from the preceding fortress, is a remnant of antiquity not easily to be classed. It is a small plot of ground, nearly square, surrounded by a rampart of earth only 3 feet high, and a slight ditch; it is about 55 yards long from west to east, and 45 yards broad from north to south; the entrance is on the east. In the area is a raised ridge about 2 feet high and 4 or 5 wide, formed in the shape of a cross; edged on all sides by a slight ditch or trench scarcely half a foot deep. In the middle of the cross is an excavation, apparently the mouth of an old well.”

He also gives a plan which appears to be taken from Hoare's, and is probably prepared by the same hand. Both plans show an entrance on the east side of the work, and Seyer marks the well at the intersection of the arm of the cross. This well is not noticed by Hoare.

Mr. Coote¹ describes the work as “an oblong enclosure with the angles rounded off. This earthwork is 55 yards in length and 45 yards in breadth, having a slight *agger* and *fosse*. In the centre is a ridge of earth forming a Greek cross, raised about two feet above the rest of the enclosure and four feet broad.”

The inaccuracy of this description will be clear from the accompanying plan, which shows that the cross is about twelve feet broad and that the enclosure is not oblong.

My own plan has been prepared partly from my own measurements and partly from the Ordnance Survey (25·344 inches to the mile). This map indicates the surrounding mound, but does not show the cross.

The work is situated on the southern slope of Banwell Hill, about 150 yards north-east of the house called Banwell Castle and about 120 yards north of the Roman road which led from

¹ *Romans of Britain*, p. 101.

Cruciform Earthwork on Banwell Hill. 201

Charterhouse, Mendip, towards Uphill. The northern bank is practically on the summit of the hill. The whole work was, no doubt, originally surrounded with a ditch which is still very well marked on the eastern side (See Section). On the north the ditch is but slight, and the west has almost entirely disappeared, while on the south, if it ever existed, it has been destroyed by the road. The mound, as will be seen from the plan, is irregular in shape, and is nowhere of sufficient thickness or height to indicate that it was a military work. The entrance on the east, described by Seyer, is not well marked, and unless it was different in his time, one would not feel sure that it was not due to some subsequent disturbance of the ground. On the whole the mound would appear to have been thrown up, without any very precise measurements, for the purpose of protecting or giving importance to the cross.

The cross itself consists of a mound some 12 feet broad and 2 feet high. The slight trench described by Seyer is not now to be seen. The survey of this cross was somewhat difficult, owing to the northern arm being entirely covered by bushes, but as the bearings of the arms were checked by the prismatic compass, the plan may be taken as substantially correct. The northern arm, it will be noticed, points slightly to the west of north, and the two arms do not intersect each other at right angles. The measurements of the four arms were taken with some difficulty, owing to the bushes and trees, but they are approximately as follows: northern arm, 61 feet; eastern arm, 56 feet; southern arm, 57 feet; western arm, 72 feet. This would seem to indicate a definite intention to make one arm decidedly longer than the others, and these others may all have been intended to be of equal length.

Of the well at the intersection there is now no trace. Its place is taken by a large *Wellingtonia*, which, though beautiful in itself, must be regretted by the antiquary.

The western and northern arms have been cut through near the point of intersection, and a hole dug in the southern arm by a gentleman in the neighbourhood, but nothing

202 *Cruciform Earthwork on Banwell Hill.*

appears to have been found, and one must regret that the earth and stones were not restored to their place.

Mr. Coote says¹ that similar crosses have been discovered at Helperthorpe, Swinton, and Fimber, in Yorkshire, and St. Margaret's, Herefordshire. He also quotes as analogous the cruciform construction of brickwork at Richborough. To these may be added an interesting cross at Margam, in South Wales.

The crosses at Helperthorpe, Fimber and Swinton, in Yorkshire, are described in a paper by Mr. Monkman.² "In all three cases the structures were of the form of a Greek cross, having arms of equal length, pointing approximately—at Swinton exactly—to the cardinal points. In the Helperthorpe find, the cruciform platform was built upon the natural ground, the mound having been raised over it; but, in the other cases, the platforms were built upon the floors of deep excavations in the rock, the excavations being also cruciform. In the Fimber excavation there were two platforms, one at the bottom partly destroyed, and another more recently constructed at a higher level, but still some feet below the natural surface. It is worthy of remark—indeed, the sequel will show the importance of the remark—that in two of the cases (Helperthorpe and Swinton) the buried crosses were in close proximity to known lines of ancient road, presumably Roman."

All three crosses were covered by mounds resembling tumuli, which concealed their form, and the measurements of the arms were practically the same in each instance; the arms of the Swinton cross being 9 feet 6 inches long; of the Helperthorpe cross and the lower cross at Fimber, 10 feet 6 inches, while the arms of the upper cross at Fimber were 8 feet 6 inches long. Fragments of pottery and other remains, said to be Roman, were found under the mounds. Swinton is about two miles to the north-west, and Helperthorpe eleven miles east of Malton. Fimber is ten miles south-east of the same place.

¹ *Romans of Britain* pp. 101-104.

² *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, vol. ii., p. 69.

Cruciform Earthwork on Banwell Hill. 203

The Hereford cross is described as follows:—¹

“The Rev. Dr. Jenkins, of Hereford, communicated through Mr. Birch a notice of a singular cruciform embankment situated in an extensive wood called St. Margaret's Park, about 13 miles south of Hereford and half a mile east of St. Margaret's Church. It is locally termed a ‘Roman Cross.’ The length of the longest portion is about 200 feet, of the transverse bank 100 feet; the surface of the bank is regularly rounded, but brushwood grows over it, and its position in a woodland tract has probably been the cause of its remaining unnoticed. About two years since the wood was felled, and the work became more visible. Not far distant are two excavations, traditionally called ‘camps’ or ‘Roman camps.’ The cross appears to be formed without any regularity in the measurements of the length of the limbs, of which three terminate like the ‘cross potent,’ the fourth is plain. It is difficult to form any conjecture in regard to the age or the purpose of this singular earthwork, which escaped the notice of Duncombe and appears to have been unknown until it arrested the attention of Dr. Jenkins.”

A plan of this work is given in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1853, p. 387. This shows the length of the arms to be as follows: north, $27\frac{1}{2}$ yards; east, $24\frac{1}{2}$ yards; south, $23\frac{1}{2}$ yards; west, $12\frac{1}{2}$ yards. The north, west, and south arms have transverse mounds at their extremities, 17 yards, 20 yards, and 20 yards long, respectively. The mound seems to be some 15 feet broad and 4 feet high.

The curious feature about this cross is the T shaped ends to three of the arms. Messrs. Bevan, Davies, and Haverfield, in their *Archæological Survey of Herefordshire*, say that the work may possibly be late in date, and in any case the difference of the plan would make it unsafe to class it without further evidence with the other crosses.

The Richborough cross is comparatively well known, and is considered by some authorities to be the foundations of a building, possibly of a “pharos” or chapel. It is described in

¹ *The Archæological Journal*, vol. x., p. 358.

204 *Cruciform Earthwork on Banwell Hill.*

Mr. Roach Smith's *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver and Lymne*, pp. 43-49, and consists of a cross in relief faced with square stone, on a platform of masonry 144 feet long and 104 feet wide. The dimensions of the arms as given in the text do not agree with the plan, the length being given from north to south as 87 feet, and from east to west as 46 feet. The width of the arms is said to be 75 feet and 22 respectively. There is obviously some error here, but whatever the correct dimensions are, it is still possible that this cross is part of some building.

The Margam cross, is however, more interesting owing to its similarity to the Banwell cross. It was described as follows, by Mr. Moggridge, of Swansea, in the year 1852.¹

"This mound was still well-defined and of considerable magnitude, each arm being 18 feet wide and 70 feet long, measured from the centre, where it is 2 feet high. It was entirely composed of earth, except under the point of intersection, where, on the level of the adjoining ground, was a curious arrangement of flat stones, unhewn, but selected with care, so that the projecting part of one fitted into the hollow in the next, like the articulation of a skeleton. Situated upon one of the mountains which rise up above Port Talbot, this curious relique had escaped the ruthless hand of agricultural improvement up to about forty years ago, when that part of the hill was enclosed. For another fifteen years it remained untouched, but then the plough passed over it. He found the old man who then guided that plough, and from his testimony the mound was 3 feet 6 inches high, and the sides so steep that the horses could scarcely stand upon them; 'therefore,' he observed, 'we ploughed it down at each ploughing.' Never having seen or heard of any such cruciform earthwork, he communicated with many eminent antiquaries, both in England and in Ireland, whose answers accorded with his own experience, all tending to show that this was a unique specimen of an erection, the object of which he could but vaguely guess at. When Christianity first spread

¹ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1852, p. 316.

Cruciform Earthwork on Banwell Hill. 205

in Britain, Druidic circles were held in great reverence, a reverence sometimes amounting to adoration. It was not unusual with the early Christians, in order to *depaganize* such remains, to cut the figure of the cross upon them, etc. . . ."

"This much, however, was certain, that 'y Groes,' the cross, was sufficiently remarkable to be referred to in the names of sundry places in the neighbourhood, as 'Lanton-y-groes' (?Llan-tan-y-groes), 'the flat under the cross,' a house situated exactly as the name imported; 'Tan-y-groes,' 'the fire of the cross;' and 'Groes-wen,' 'the blessed cross.' The mound was not marked on the Ordnance map, but the name 'y Groes' is wrongly there given to some tumuli 1,400 feet west of the cross. The owner, Mr. Talbot, of Margam, has promised to preserve the mound in future."

The situation of this cross seems to resemble that of the Banwell cross, and the dimensions of the arms are only slightly larger. It is unfortunate that the bearings of the arms are not recorded, as this cross otherwise so closely resembles the Banwell cross that one is almost justified in assuming that they were constructed for the same purpose. What this purpose was cannot definitely be said, but there is some ground for believing that they were boundary marks constructed by the Romans.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to enter into an elaborate description or discussion of the Roman system of centuriation of land. Those who are curious on this subject will find a fairly full account of the system in Mr. Coote's *Romans of Britain*. This account is derived from Lachmann and Rudorff's *Die Schriften der Römischen Feldmesser*, a work which, difficult though it is, must be studied by those who wish to pursue any investigations as to the survival of traces of the system. As, however, the subject is but little understood, it may be worth while to give a brief outline of the method.

The Roman land-surveyor set up his *groma* or surveying instrument in the centre of the new town. Through this

206 *Cruciform Earthwork on Banwell Hill.*

point a line was drawn from west to east, to the boundaries of the territory assigned to the town. This line was called the *decumanus maximus*. At right angles to this, a line was set out in a similar way, pointing north and south; this was called the *cardo maximus*. Parallel to these two lines, other lines were drawn at regular intervals, dividing the territory into rectangles. Each of these rectangles was a *centuria*. The size of these *centuriæ* varied at different places,¹ in some it was 200 *jugera*, in others 210 or 240, and in others 400, and apparently in one case only 50 *jugera*.² Each of these *centuriæ* would have the angles defined by some kind of mark, either on trees or stones, or by other means. It is worth while to note that the Roman surveyor did not, as we should do, regard himself as normally facing to the north. He rather regarded himself as marching with the sun and facing west. Hence all land to the north of the *decumanus maximus* is *dextra*, and to the south is *sinistra*, while the land east of the *cardo* is *citra*, and that to the west is *ultra*. The north-easterly portion is therefore *dextra* and *citra*, the south-westerly is *sinistra* and *ultra* and so on. The *cardo* and *decumanus* obviously make a cross, which was called *antica et postica*,³ and this would seem to be the origin of the *cruz* as a defining or boundary mark. We know that this *cruz* was made on the thresholds of temples,⁴ and one is certainly tempted to infer that some of the crosses previously described are of this description.

That part, if not all, of Britain was centuriated in this way seems in itself probable, and the identification of any traces of this system is an extremely interesting, if a difficult, problem. With all of Mr. Coote's conclusions the student will possibly not agree, but there does seem sufficient ground to believe that traces of centuriation do exist in England and to hope that more light may yet be thrown on this subject.

With regard to the crosses described in this paper, the

¹ Lachmann and Rudolf, p. 159.

³ *Id.*, p. 304, and fig. 229.

² *Id.*, p. 30.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 303.

Cruciform Earthwork on Banwell Hill. 207

cross at St. Margaret's may possibly belong to a much later date, and can hardly be quoted as a likely instance of a boundary mark. The three Yorkshire crosses, and the Margam and Banwell crosses, do appear, however, to be marks of this description. Assuming then for the present that this is the case, the problem that requires solution is to discover what was the nature and size of the land of which these crosses were the boundary marks.

The Yorkshire crosses are very small compared with the other two. One would infer that the small crosses indicated a smaller portion of land, or else, possibly, that the system of placing marks in Yorkshire differed from that in vogue in Wales and in Somerset.

In any attempt to recover the size and boundaries of the former Roman *civitates* and their *territoria* the following fact must be borne in mind. First, that these territories might be divided by natural boundaries, such as mountains or rivers,¹ and therefore were irregular in outline; and, secondly, that the *cardo* and *decumanus* were not invariably drawn to the point of the compass, but were sometimes drawn parallel with existing roads, *e.g.*, the Via Appia in Campania.² Hence, it might be worth while to look for traces of centuriation in relation to some of our great military roads, such as the Foss Way. Thirdly, while the lines dividing *centuriae* from each other, were paths for owners, every fifth of these (*limes actuarius* or *quintarius*) formed a public right of way. The distance apart of these *quintarii* depended on the size of the century, and the usual difficulty comes in as to whether the "fifth way" was calculated inclusively or not. The Roman custom seem to have varied.³ The calculation is too complicated to reproduce here, but if the century was 200 *jugera*, and the *quintarius* was counted not inclusively, which seems the more usual way,⁴

¹ *Id.*, p. 163.

² *Id.*, p. 179.

³ See *Id.*, fig. 132.

⁴ Cf. *Id.*, p. 168. *Actuarius limes est qui primus actus est [et] ab eo quintus quisque, quem si numeres cum primo, erit sextus quoniam quinque centurias sex limites cludunt.*

208 *Cruciform Earthwork on Banwell Hill.*

the distance apart would be about 3,880 yards. Hence, it might be worth while to look for traces of parallel lines of ancient ways separated by this or a somewhat greater distance. The *centuria*, it may be noted, would probably be at least 200 *jugera* in area.

Lastly, it must be remembered that the town which was the political and social centre of the territory need not be situated in the middle of that territory, but might quite well be placed in one corner of it. Territory, moreover, appears to have been assigned to small places such as *castella*.

To return now to the Banwell cross, it is certainly worth noting that it agrees closely in measurement with the Margam cross, and one cannot but guess that they both mark a corner of a territory. If so, what was the territory which the Banwell cross defined? Its situation on the southern slope of the Banwell Hill suggests that the Mendips were the northern boundary.

It is possible, therefore, if one may hazard a guess, that the cross defines the north-west limit of a mining district of which Charterhouse, Mendip, was the centre; or the territory may have been much larger; and possibly Ilchester was the centre, *i.e.* the political centre which may, in either case, have been situated anywhere in the territory.

The Yorkshire crosses may define a territory, or parts of a territory, of which Malton was, possibly, the town or fortress. Malton was certainly a Roman station of some importance, for there are remains of a large camp and inscriptions have been found there.

The Margam cross may, possibly, be referred to Neath—the ancient *Nidum* or *Bomium*, which was between *Nidum* and *Isca Silurum*. But in all these cases, until fresh evidence is discovered, it is premature to try to reconstruct the territory of a Roman *civitas* in Britain.

Proceedings of the Club.

1898.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

JANUARY 5TH, 1898.

COL. J. R. BRAMBLE, F.S.A., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The meeting was held at the Imperial Hotel, Clifton, and was attended by twenty-four members. After dinner, which was served at 7.45 p.m., the Hon. Secretary read the minutes of the previous Annual Meeting and letters from various members who were unable to be present.

The Hon. Treasurer (Mr. R. Hall Warren) read a financial statement which showed a satisfactory balance in favour of the Club. The accounts had been "audited and found correct" by Mr. J. Hudson Smith.

The President (Col. Bramble) delivered a brief but interesting Address, in which he alluded to the rapid disappearance of many of the oldest and most picturesque buildings of Old Bristol, including the Pithay, and the old houses in Lewin's Mead and neighbourhood, but thought that in most of these cases, the houses being no longer habitable, it would have been both unwise and useless to protest against what were undoubtedly "street improvements." The Address is printed at pp. 89-94. Before resuming his seat, the President said he had been requested to present to the Hon. Secretary (Mr. Hudd) on behalf of the members of the Club, a testimonial in acknowledgment of his services during the thirteen years the Club had been in existence, and a handsome silver punch bowl dated 1811, with four silver candlesticks dated 1779, were then presented to Mr. Hudd, and warmly acknowledged by him.

The Officers and Committee who had served during the past year were re-elected, with thanks for their past services.

On the motion of Mr. Fleetwood Pellew, a letter to the Mayor of Bristol (Sir R. H. Symes), an honorary member of the Club, congratulating him on the honour of Knighthood recently conferred on him by Her Majesty the Queen, was unanimously adopted.

MEETING, APRIL 29TH, 1898.

COL. J. R. BRAMBLE, F.S.A., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The meeting was held, by invitation of Mr. W. R. Barker, J.P., Chairman of the Museum Committee, in the Council Room of the Bristol Museum and Library.

The Hon. Secretary read a letter from Sir Robert H. Symes, Mayor of Bristol, thanking the Club for their address of congratulation on the honour recently conferred by the Queen on himself and the City.

Mr. William Windus, a member of the Club, not being able to attend the meetings, had sent in his resignation, and for the vacancy the Rev. Canon J. G. Tetley, M.A., of Clifton, was balloted for and unanimously elected.

Mr. John E. Pritchard exhibited a North African water jar, of brown earthenware, dug up in 1893 at Easton-in-Gordano, Somerset, and a similar one from the Museum collection. These had probably been brought home by some Bristol ship, when the African trade was flourishing, in the early part of the century. Similar water-coolers are still in use in various parts of North and West Africa.

Professor J. Rowley called attention to an old arm-chair known as "Cowper's Chair," in which the President was seated. Mr. Wilson, the Curator, said the chair had long been in the Museum, and had always been known as the poet's chair, but he would endeavour to find out from the Register something of its history.

Mr. Edward Wilson, F.G.S., exhibited, by permission of the Museum Committee, an extensive collection of bones of hyena, cave-bear, elephant, horse, ox, fox, etc., and some *worked flints*, apparently of early neolithic type, from some caves in the mountain limestone at Uphill, near Weston-super-Mare, which had recently been explored under the auspices of the Museum Committee. The President, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Wilson for his Address, congratulated him on the interesting addition to the Museum collection of cave remains.

Mr. W. R. Barker, J.P., Chairman of the Committee, exhibited a fine series of standard weights and measures from the Museum, dating from the reign of Henry VII., to recent times. His paper on the subject is printed at pp. 95-108. This Bristol collection is one of the most extensive of its kind in existence, and is well worth preserving. It had only recently been sent to the Museum by the City Authorities.

EXCURSION TO PORTBURY, PORTISHEAD, WESTON- AND
CLAPTON-IN-GORDANO.

The first general excursion of the Club for the year 1898 took place on Tuesday, May 24th, when a party of eighteen members and their friends, under the direction of the President (Col. Bramble), left Clifton in a four-horse brake supplied by the Tramways Company, and visited four interesting villages in North-west Somerset.

On reaching Portbury the President gave a description of the Parish Church, and pointed out the remains of Norman, Early English, Decorated, Perpendicular and later architecture, including traces of one of the porch-galleries, which, at one time, existed at many of the Churches in this neighbourhood. There are probably more remains of these porch-galleries in North-west Somerset than in the whole of the rest of England, but, of these, the only one remaining in anything like its original condition is that in the south porch of the Church at Weston-in-Gordano, visited later in the day. On leaving the Church the little prehistoric camp on the top of the hill, and the ruins of Portbury Priory were looked at in passing, the President and Secretary giving some account of both remains. Miss E. Hodges said she had in vain endeavoured to find any remains in Portbury of the ancient home of the Berkeleys, even the site of which is now unknown.

At Portishead, the Church was examined under the guidance of Mr. R. Milverton Drake, but a recent "restoration" and enlargement had somewhat mystified the architectural history of the building. The churchyard cross, and a picturesque old building near the Church, called "The Manor House" (sixteenth century),¹ having been looked at, the members drove on to the "Royal Hotel," where luncheon was partaken of. It being the Queen's birthday, Her Majesty's health was proposed by the President, and drunk with musical honours. There being a vacancy in the Club through the resignation of Mr. C. J. Trusted, who was unable to attend the meetings, Mr. Arthur Bullied, F.S.A., of Glastonbury, was balloted for, and unanimously elected a member. The Hon. Secretary announced that there was another vacancy, caused by the recent death of one of the original members of the Club, Mr. Samuel Cashmore, late of Gatcombe Court, and that for this vacancy a candidate would be proposed at the next meeting. The Hon. Secretary also alluded to the death, after a very short illness, of Mr. Edward Wilson, F.G.S., Curator of the Bristol Museum, who had, at a recent meeting of the Club, given an interesting lecture on "The animal remains and worked flints from Uphill Cavern." Both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cashmore died and were buried on the same day, and some of the members of the Club were unable to be present at the excursion as they wished to attend the funerals.

¹ See *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society*, 1881, p. 71.

Leaving Portishead at 2.30 p.m., half an hour's drive brought the party to the Church of Weston-in-Gordano, where they were received by the Rector, the Rev. T. G. Bird, who pointed out the many interesting features of the Church, including the Porch gallery, respecting which, and its probable use, Col. Bramble made some remarks.

The last visit of the day was to Clapton-in-Gordano, where Mr. R. Hall Warren, F.S.A., read a paper on the Church, which is printed at pp. 162—168. The fine old wooden screen, formerly at the Court, now in the tower arch inside the Church, was much admired; though some recent additions to it were not approved of by some of the members. After a brief visit to Clapton Court, of which little remains, the members drove back to Clifton, arriving about 7 p.m., after a very pleasant day.

EXCURSION TO STOKESLEIGH CAMP.

On Saturday, September 24th, a party numbering over twenty members and friends, under the guidance of Professor C. Lloyd Morgan, visited Stokesleigh Camp, in the Leigh Woods, where some excavations had recently been made in connection with the Bristol Meeting of the British Association. The Professor gave a short account of the Camp, and pointed out considerable remains of dry walling formed of unworked stones, without cement, capping the inner vallum, which had been uncovered, under the direction of himself and the Hon. Secretary, by kind permission of the Leigh Woods Land Company. This feature seems to have escaped the notice of Barrett, Seyer, and other local writers, and is worth recording. A paper on the Camps and other pre-historic remains in the Bristol district has been promised by Professor Morgan, for an evening meeting of the Club. A suggestion that a detached bank and ditch, joining Stokesleigh Camp on its north-west side, might have formed the western termination of the Wansdyke, was discussed, but as the ditch is on the south, instead of the north side of the vallum, it probably had no connection with that great earthwork.

MEETING, OCTOBER 31st, 1898.

R. HALL WARREN, ESQ., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The meeting was held by invitation of Mr. Warren, at 9, Apsley Road, Clifton, and was attended by twenty-seven members and friends. Letters were read from the President (Col. Bramble) and other members who were unable to be present, and one from Mr. F. J. Fry, dated from Cricket St. Thomas, near Chard, Somerset, resigning his

membership of the Club, as he would not in future be able to attend the meetings.

The Rev. Chas. S. Taylor, M.A., exhibited a bronze Palstave, found about twenty years since, on the south side of Banwell Hill, Somerset, not far from the Camp. It resembled specimens from Westbury-on-Trym and other localities, exhibited at previous meetings of the Club.

Dr. A. C. Fryer, M.A., exhibited a couple of antique gems engraved with classic heads, somewhat resembling the conventional portrait of Homer, and read some notes on the subject. One of these gems, which was found by Dr. Fryer in Cuddy's Cave, Northumberland, traditionally connected with St. Cuthbert, has been described by the finder in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*,¹ and may possibly have formed part of a ring worn by the saint. The other somewhat similar intaglio had only recently come into his possession, and its history was unknown.

Mr. John E. Pritchard exhibited various antiquities recently found in Bristol, during alterations in the Pithay and elsewhere, and mentioned an interesting find of pre-historic remains at Walton, near Clevedon, respecting which he hoped to report more fully at a future meeting. See *Archæological Notes*, p. 158—161.

The Right Rev. Bishop Brownlow, D.D., read a paper on "The Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, Rome," illustrated with plans, drawings, and photographs, which is printed at pp. 139—153.

Mr. John Latimer read a paper on "An Ancient Bristol Document; a Deed relating to the partition of the property of St. James's Priory, Bristol," belonging to the Hon. Secretary. The paper is printed at pp. 109—138.

Mr. W. R. Barker gave some information respecting the chair of the Poet Cowper, now in the Bristol Museum, in response to Professor Rowley's request at the meeting on April 29th.

The chair was presented to the Museum, as recorded on a silver plate attached to the back, by Richard Welford, Esq., of Marlborough. In the Minute-book of the Bristol Institution it is, in October 1824, referred to as "Cowper's chair," and as "a chair once in the possession of Cowper, the poet."

The Rev. Canon Tetley, M.A., said there was proof of the poet's connection with Bristol, in the Cathedral, and has since kindly furnished the Editor with the following note on the subject:—

"The pathetic story of Cowper's hopeless attachment to his cousin Theodora, second daughter of his uncle, Ashley Cowper, is familiar to many. Their marriage was forbidden by her father, doubtless, on account of the poet's known hereditary tendency. It cannot be said that the disappointment produced his insanity, but, in combination with other circumstances, it greatly aggravated the malady.

"Theodora's sister, Harriet, the wife of Sir Thomas Hesket, proved herself to be a friend indeed to her afflicted kinsman. She

¹ Vol. xxxviii, pp. 235-6, and Vol. xl, p. 121.

maintained a correspondence with him until he ceased to reply to her letters. On the production of the "Task" she took advantage of the favourable moment to reopen it. She was the agent by whose hands needed pecuniary help was given in distress. And as it was to her that the sorely-tried man had turned in the first hours of his sorrow, so it was her loyal hand that raised the monument at Dereham to his memory.

"The rebuilding of the southern cloister of Bristol Cathedral afforded an excellent opportunity for preserving certain mural tablets which had been unavoidably displaced in the course of restoration. Examining these in the autumn of 1895, the writer's attention was arrested by the name of Hesketh, and the following inscription was copied for sending to a descendant of Cowper's noble-hearted relation :—

‘ Dame Harriet Hesketh
Eldest Daughter of
Ashley Cowper Esq:
Clerk of the Parliaments.
Widow of
Sir Thomas Hesketh, Bart:
of Rufford Hall in Lancashire.
Born July 1733,
Died 15th January 1807.’

"The Subsacrist was asked to verify the copy, as the characters had become somewhat faint. On complying with the writer's request, he mentioned the curious fact of his having discovered another monument to the same lady, the inscription on which is here appended. It is a question not altogether easy of solution, why there should be this unusual commemoration. Possibly, the nephew's tribute of respect and affection may have been due to some special personal attachment, or, it may be that originally the tablet, now in the south cloister, was in the Cathedral grave yard, fixed to an exterior wall :—

‘ Sacred to the Memory of Dame Harriot, Relict of
Sir Thomas Hesketh of Rufford in the County of
Lancaster, Bart: who departed this life on the 15th
of January 1807 in the 72nd year of her Age. Her
virtues endeared her to all who knew her And her
Benevolence & Piety were too well known to
require Eulogium.

She was the near Relative and valued Friend of our
great Moral poet Cowper and was as much distinguished by the Cultivation of her mind and the
Elegance of her Manners as by the Beneficence of
her Heart.

In affectionate Respect to her Memory this tablet
was erected by her Great Nephew Sir Thos:
Dalrymple Hesketh Baronet.’

"It was certainly a strange coincidence that the very week following that in which the *second* monument was found by the Subscrist, a paragraph appeared in a London newspaper, from the pen of a well known antiquarian writer, expressing his astonishment that there was no memorial of Cowper's Lady Hesketh in Bristol Cathedral! It was an easy task to remove his surprise. Our readers have now more than one indication of at any rate an indirect association of the poet Cowper with Bristol. Possibly there is yet more to reward the industry of future enquirers."

EXCURSION TO RODWAY MANOR AND MANGOTSFIELD.

On Saturday, November 19th, between twenty and thirty members and friends left Bristol by an afternoon train, and visited Mangotsfield Church and Rodway Manor. At the Church they were received by the Vicar, the Rev. G. Alford, and by the Rev. A. Emlyn Jones, who gave some account of the building and of the history of the manor, since published in his little book *Our Parish*. The President, Col. Bramble, F.S.A., gave an interesting account of the effigies now in the chantry chapel, which "the ingenious Mr. Davis" attempted to pass off as those of "John Shipway and Margaret his wife," who died 1623 and 1628.¹ Col. Bramble showed that there was little doubt the effigies belonged to Edmund Blount, who died 1468, and Margaret (Seymour) his wife. The paper is printed at pp. 154—157. Rodway Manor was then visited under the guidance of Mr. Jones, and of Miss Elizabeth Hodges, author of *Some Ancient English Homes*, in which work the old house is well described and illustrated.²

MEETING, NOVEMBER 24TH, 1898.

R. HALL WARREN, Esq., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The meeting was held, by invitation, at the house of the Hon. Secretary, 94, Pembroke Road, Clifton.

It having been suggested, during the recent meeting of the British Association in Bristol, that some slight excavations on the Observatory Hill might throw light on the date of the earthwork known as "Clifton Camp," it was resolved that a sum not exceeding five pounds be granted to be expended in this and other similar explorations in the neighbourhood, under the direction of a committee consisting of the following members of the Club:—Professor C. Lloyd Morgan, Messrs. W. R. Barker, A. T. Martin, and the Hon. Secretary. It was also

¹ *Our Parish, Mangotsfield, etc., a brief account of its origin and history*, by Rev. Arthur Emlyn Jones. Bristol (1899).

² *Some Ancient English Homes*, pp. 72—199.

decided to examine the Roman road crossing, Durdham Down; the requisite permission having been given by the Downs Committee of the Town Council and the Society of Merchant Venturers.

There being a vacancy in the Club, caused by the death of Mr. Samuel Cashmore, one of the original members, Dr. Bertram Rogers, of Clifton, was balloted for and unanimously elected.

Mr. S. H. Swayne exhibited two vellum books from Abyssinia, one of them with a curious case of *cuir bouilli*; also the diploma of "The Royal Order of the Lion," recently conferred on his nephew, Major Swayne, in connection with the recent British mission to that country.

Mr. John E. Pritchard exhibited an old leather "Pilgrim's bottle" from Wiltshire.

Mr. F. F. Tuckett exhibited an extensive collection of ancient Egyptian remains, chiefly of the pre-dynastic period (some six or seven centuries B.C.), and read an interesting paper on "The Dawn of Egyptian History in the Light of Recent Discoveries," which is printed at pp. 172—198.

There being no time for more than a very brief discussion of the paper, it was resolved to postpone to a future meeting a paper by Dr. A. C. Fryer on "Cresset Stones."

Proceedings of the
Clifton Antiquarian Club,
1899.

A Lost Architectural Feature of Bristol
Cathedral.

BY JAMES G. HOLMES.

(Read November 24th, 1897.)

The restoration of any historic building tends to awaken an interest in the ordinary observer, but to the archæological or antiquarian student there is a deeper fascination in anticipating "what may turn up." On one of my visits to watch the work of the restoration of our Cathedral, I noticed, where the embattled parapet had been pulled down, a line of mortar, as though a groove had been filled up. At that time, I should have been afraid to say what I ventured to think, but now, I can do so with absolute certainty. Last March, when strolling round the south side of the choir, watching the men at work on the buttresses, I noticed a little heap of broken stonework, which on closer examination proved to be portions of some tracery. Two pieces had tenons which would fit into another grooved piece close by.

From a conversation with the foreman, who was kindness itself, I gathered he had found these stones buried away in the south-east pinnacle of the choir. It was absolutely necessary to re-build this pinnacle and the parapet, for in

218 *A Lost Architectural Feature of*

many places the latter stood over from four to six inches out of upright, and was in a very dangerous condition. Many of the stones were not placed on their quarry bed, and there was an entire absence of any attempt at bonding. When this pinnacle, with the decayed parapet, was pulled down, "the line of mortar" was easily explained. I was now convinced that what might have been previously considered as a flight of imagination was a certainty, for the stones told their own tale.

I photographed the fragments (Plate XIII) which consist of ten pieces in all, the face measurements being A B, 2 feet 6 inches; B B, $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches; C C, 2 feet 10 inches; D D, 1 foot $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches; E E, 2 feet; E F, 1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches; E G, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; H H, $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

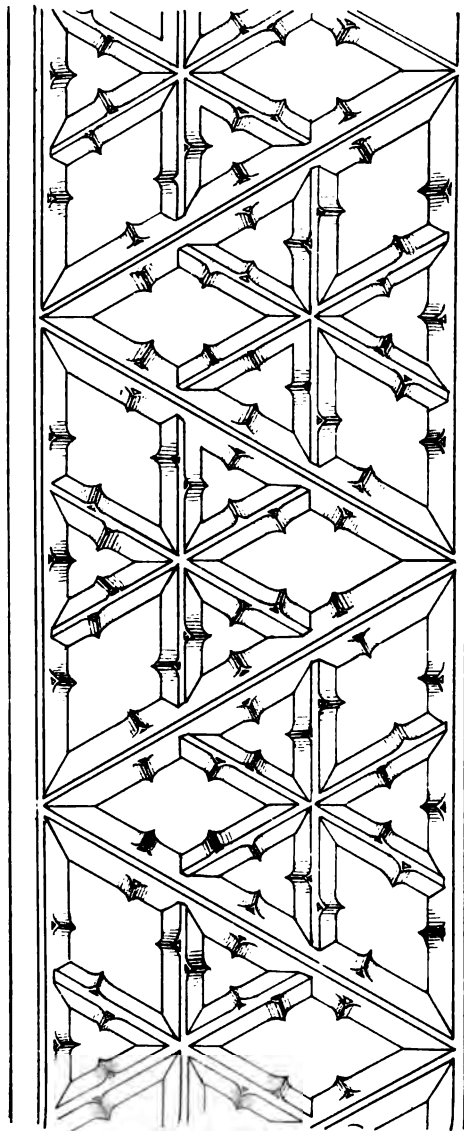
The stone in the foreground with the groove facing, measures 15 inches across and is 8 inches high. The groove tapers from 3 inches at the top, to 2 inches at the bottom, with a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The three cracks round the letters G F are fractures, but the square joints are mason's joints. Following up the design suggested by the piecing together of the fragments, I was able to make a copy of the original when perfect. The reduced copy (Plate XIV) of my drawing does not show any capping, as none had been found. I am convinced that this perforated rail was a part of the original intended plan. It was not less than 4 feet 6 inches high, with 6 inch bars to form the main sides, and $4\frac{1}{4}$ inch bars for the smaller parts of the design, which may be described as a "Trinity tracery," of late fourteenth century date.

All measurements are in threes. There is an equilateral triangle with its equal sides, each of which is trisected, and from each of the two points a straight line is drawn parallel to an opposite side. The six figures thus formed are a rhombus and equilateral triangle alternating. The face of the tracery is kept back one-third of the thickness of the main bars. Much might be said of the beauty of this design.

"Where order in variety we see,
And where, though all things differ, all agree."



FRAGMENTS OF THE ANCIENT PARAPET OF THE CHOIR OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.
PLATE XIII.



Drawing]

RESTORED DESIGN OF THE PARAPET.

[BY MR. HOLMES,

PLATE XIV.

It will be noticed that the chamfer keeps the design, except on the main sides of the figures.

Although the groove to receive the tenon runs round the Cathedral from the east for at least fifty feet, I venture to think that very little of it was used, for on two of the stones the workman's face line is quite distinct. It is not uncommon to find our early builders failed to carry their designs beyond certain points, completing their work in a plainer and cheaper style. Probably they did not sit down and first count the cost.

Had the original design been carried out, our Bristol Cathedral would have possessed a traceried rail unsurpassed in England.

The expense was doubtless a matter for consideration in those early days, when many of the workers "lived to work," but remembering the industrial problems of our time, the expense of restoring this rail would have been considerable.

The Choir of Bristol Cathedral.

—
BY ROBERT HALL WARREN, F.S.A.
—

(*Read November 1st, 1899.*)

The recent restoration of the Choir to its original position, which it doubtless occupied before the dissolution of the Monastery, may be a fitting time for placing on record the many changes which it has seen since it was left complete by Abbat Elyot, only twelve years before the surrender. That the present position is identical with the old is certain from the measurements given by William Wyrcestre, which coincide with the existing plan.

“Capella Sanctæ Mariæ in longitudine continet 13 virgas. Spacium sive via processionum a retro altaris principalis coram capellam Sanctæ Mariæ continet 5 virgas. Chori longitudo de le reredes principalis altaris usque ad finem chori continet 29 virgas, incipiendo a fine predicti spacii.” (*Dallaway*, p. 130.)

This makes 141 feet as the total length, from the east wall to the end of the choir, exclusive of the thickness of the reredos, and is a proof that the screen went across the eastern arch of the tower, and not further west, as at Gloucester and other Monasteries. This would have been the *Pulpitum*, which held the organ and minstrels, and from which part of the service was delivered, having a central doorway, with altar on either side. Across the western arch of the tower would be the rood screen proper, a solid stone wall, as at Tynemouth, Bolton,¹ and other Abbeys, separating the Canons' choir from the nave, having a rood altar in

¹ Also a house of Austin Canons.

the centre of its western face and a door on each side leading into the choir. This is suggested by the record in *Ricart's Kalendar* that the founder, Robert Fitzharding, "lyeth beryed with Eve his wife in the thentryng of the Quere of Seynt Austyns, bitwene the twoo stalles of thabbot and the Pryoure of the seide monastery there."—(*The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, p. 22.) And by that in *Abbat Newland's Roll*, that Abbat Knowle "lythe beried under a brode marbull stone streight afore the Rode auter." ("Abbat Newland's Roll," *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, vol. xiv., p. 128.)

We have still the same stalls which Abbat Elyot erected (1515-1526), with the grotesque carvings beneath them, and the arms and initials of the Abbat to perpetuate the memory of his work.

During the alterations made in 1860, when the stalls were removed, I examined the eastern piers, but could find no trace of disturbance of the masonry which would indicate the attachment of a reredos; but in repaving the choir in 1895, the foundations of one were exposed a little to the east of the fourth pier from the tower, exactly the position of the present reredos, which is built on these foundations.

Incidentally it may here be said, that at the same time the foundation of the square termination of the Norman church was discovered at the eastern side of the second pier from the tower. This then is all we know of the pre-Reformation choir, but we read that Thomas, Lord of Berkeley, left by his will "one hundred markes towards the building of the high altar at St. Augustine's, by Bristol."—(*Smith's Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. ii., p. 241).

He died January 22nd, 1532, only seven years before the dissolution, so that, from the absence of any remains, it is doubtful whether his intention was ever carried out. One hundred marks would be £66 13s. 4d., or at least £700 of our money, and as this was only a contribution towards the work, we may assume that it was designed to be of some importance.

Under the Act of 31 Hen. VIII., "for the Extension of the Episcopate and erection of Chapters," provision was made for twenty-one new Sees, but only six were established, Bristol being one. The old rood screen and pulpitum excluding the people from the choir would have met the requirements of the Monastery, but would have been totally unsuitable to the Cathedral Church, founded June 4th, 1542.¹ All thought of restoring the ruined nave must have been abandoned, and the choir was pushed eastward so as to allow of a quasi nave or ante choir with rood screen at the distance of two bays east of the tower, and placing the communion table at the extreme east end.

Thus it continued for more than three hundred years, until 1860; so that many now living can remember the choir much as it existed in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and can recall with affection its solemn gloom with a quaint picturesqueness and air of comfort which it has never recovered. Since that time the whole Cathedral staff has been changed—bishop, dean, canons, minor canons, organist, and every official; and with only one or two exceptions all have passed into another world. Regular attendance for the last nine years of its existence impressed the scene so strongly on my memory that with the aid of existing materials I am enabled to record the following details.

The doorway² in the Elder Lady Chapel was generally kept closed, and the ground in the green having become much raised, the only entrance (except that from the cloister) was down a circular flight of eight steps from a doorway in the north transept, made by Dean Royse (1693—1708). Descending into the transept and walking up the so-called nave, the columns of which were thickly coated with yellow wash,

¹ Abbat Somerset (1526-1533) had already made a new doorway into the Elder Lady Chapel, in consequence of the unfinished and impassable state of the north transept. (Britton's *Bristol Cathedral*, p. 51.)

² Abbat Somerset's doorway in the Elder Lady Chapel was entirely obliterated in the late restoration.

the visitor would be stopped at the second bay by a massive stone screen with organ gallery above. It was a solid erection of some five feet in depth, containing stairs on either side of the entrance leading to the gallery above, which in its earliest form was doubtless intended for the Rood, and possibly for minstrels. The western side of this Rood-screen must have been ornamented with tabernacle work, for a letter dated December 21st, 1561 (4 Queen Elizabeth), from three commissioners was addressed to the Dean and Chapter of Bristol:—"Whereas we are credibly informed that there are divers tabernacles for Images as well in the fronture of the Roode loft of the Cath' church of Bristol etc. etc., we require youe to cause the said Tabernacles to be defaced and hewen down and afterwards to be made a playne walle wth mortar plast^r or otherways and some scriptures to be written in the places, etc., etc." (Britton's *Bristol Cathedral*, p. 52.)

From a passage in *Cursory Observations on the Churches of Bristol*, 1843, it would appear that paintings had at some subsequent date taken the place of the images and that these in their turn were plastered up during the Civil Wars. They were restored to view in the year 1804, and were familiar to visitors to the Cathedral up to the year 1860, when the screen was destroyed. The figures represented the minor prophets (the greater prophets being blazoned on the east window) and had their names beneath, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephania, Haggai, Zacharia, Malachi. These were on either side of the doorway, a view of which is given in Lyson's *Collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities*, London, 1804, pl. 98. (Plate XV).

It shows a four-centred arch, panelled as in the fifteenth century, very like the entrance to the Chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster, having four shafts on either side supporting the recess of two panels. It has a strong likeness to the Old Guard House gateway, formerly in Wine Street, and which bore the date 1571. This is figured in Seyer's *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. ii, p. 252.

In the spandril on the north side was a shield with the

initials T.W. with interlaced¹ cord and tassels, which, suggesting to some the Cardinal's hat, were attributed to Thomas Wolsey,² who, however, had been dead for twelve years. There is no doubt that they refer to Thomas Wright, appointed Receiver to the Chapter at their first foundation according to their statutes (cap. iv).

Above this were the arms of King Henry VIII. with supporters, a dragon and greyhound, both sorry beasts, as the accompanying illustration will testify. This king varied the supporters to his shield; most frequently "a lion *or* and a dragon *gules* sometimes a dragon *gules* and either a bull, a greyhound, or a cock." Although the stone has been much worn by exposure to the weather, enough is left of the dexter supporter to show that it is a dragon, but the initials H. R., which were above the crown, have vanished altogether. On the south spandrel was a corresponding shield with Thomas Wright's monogram, which ingenuity constructs into the initial of the christian and the whole of the surname "T. Wright." It is not unlike the merchant's mark of John Barstaple (*Bristol Past and Present*, vol. ii., p. 116), but in the latter case it is difficult to trace the letters of the name. Above this was the shield of Prince Edward, which is, as the illustration shews, of far better design and execution than that of the king. The Royal arms, France and England quarterly, differenced with a label of three points, are surmounted by the prince's coronet, from which rise three ostrich feathers. The shield is supported on each side by a beautiful scroll of roses and leaves, most likely red and white alternately, while above are the initials P. E. The whole screen was capped with a row of quatre-foils with vignette above, and on the top the usual cresting of the Tudor flower. By the presence of the shield of

¹ The cord and tassels are treated in the same way in some quarries of glass with the initials of Henry VIII., and also with the initials N. C., probably Nicholas Corbet, a monk at the dissolution.

² He died in 1530.

Prince Edward the date of the screen is fixed within a few years, as between 1542, the date of the foundation of the Cathedral, and 1547, the accession of Edward VI. Doubtless between these two dates it was used as a Rood-loft, for the royal injunction of 1538 forbade the use of idolatrous images, and the setting of candle or tapers before any image or picture, "but onelie the light that commonlie goeth about the crosse of the church by the *Rood-loft*, the light afore the Sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre," which were suffered to remain.

But in the first year of King Edward VI. the roods in churches were pulled down, the place in this instance being probably occupied by the organ and minstrels. Later on (to supply the place of an old organ sold to St. Stephen's Church for £30) in the year 1629, the great organ by the celebrated builder, Renatus Harris, was erected, and part of the case projecting over the western side of the screen was supported by two stone brackets or trusses, now preserved in the cloisters. Upon that nearest the south aisle were the arms of the City of Bristol, on the inside the arms of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, with the date 1629, and on the outside the Berkeley shield. On the truss to the north were the arms of Bishop Wright impaling those of the See; on the inside the arms of Dean Chetwynd—a chevron between three mullets of five points—impaled in a similar manner, and a royal crown with cipher C. R., and on the outside the Berkeley shield again. The prominence given on the screen to the monogram of Thomas Wright is difficult to account for. He held the subordinate office of Receiver to the Chapter, nothing more being known about him, yet he took care to perpetuate his memory to the exclusion of bishop and dean. Browne Willis says—"that in several places of the Wainscott (presumably the canopies of the stalls), as well as at the entrance, these initials occur." Over the choir door, on an oval shield, was inscribed "Vigilate et orate" and immediately over the doorway on the inside was an old painting, representing the Last Judg-

ment, which, from its position and age, was not very easily seen. On passing through the screen, the arms of Abbat Elyot, with mitre and crozier, were seen carved on the side of the dean's stall, and the arms of the Berkeleys, with mermaids as supporters, on the opposite stall of the canon in residence. It is much to be regretted that the same position was not assigned to them at the last restoration.

The choir had seventeen stalls on each side, or thirty-four in all (now reduced to twenty-eight), using the same seats made by Abbat Elyot, 1515—1526, and the misereres, carved with subjects from the mediæval tale of "Reynard the Fox," and amusing scenes of sport and domestic life. These have in the latest restoration been so arranged that the subjects from "Reynard the Fox" appear in their proper sequence, as suggested in a paper in our *Proceedings* (vol. i., p. 241). The backs of the stalls were, no doubt, of later date, and were fitted up at the constitution of the Cathedral. On the decani side, at the east end of the stalls, was the episcopal throne, erected by the first bishop, Paul Bush, and his arms were displayed thereon, as also the cypher of the ubiquitous Thomas Wright. It had all the character of that period, having a mixture of Gothic and Renaissance details, with a canopy or tester suggestive of the seal of the Chapter of the same date. It was very like a four-post bedstead, and the late Mr. Leech described it as "a large carved canopied pew, like the 'Great Bed of Ware.'" Charles I. and his two sons sat there on Sunday, August 6th, 1643, and, as in late times the bishop only occupied it once or twice a year, it was generally given up to the use of two or three ladies. It is well shewn in an engraving of the *Choir of Bristol Cathedral, looking West*, from a drawing by John Willis.

Immediately opposite the bishop's throne, stood the stall of the Archdeacon of Dorset, which seems to have been an important erection, vying with the throne in dignity, as appears from the ground plan shewn in the works of Browne Willis (1742), and Barrett (1789), though not to be

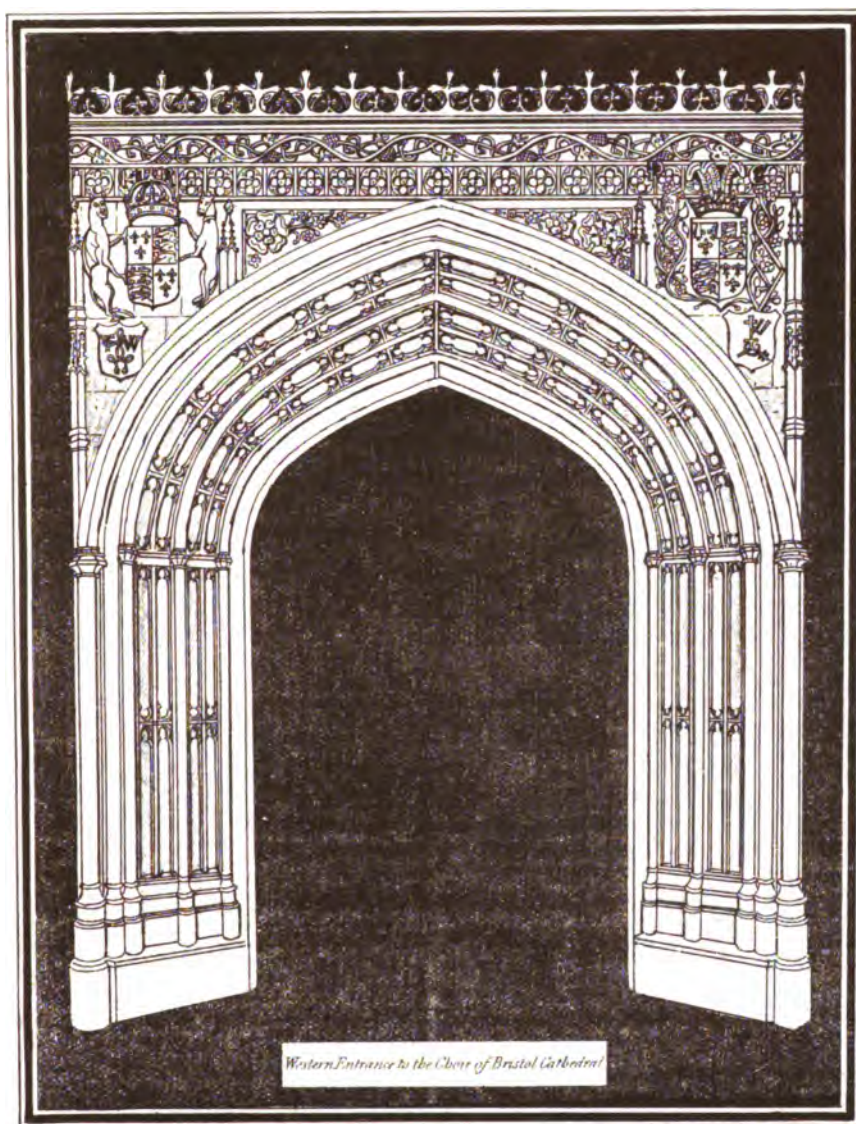


PLATE XV.

found in Britton's plan of 1830. Barrett says—"there is a grand seat for the bishop, and another opposite for the Archdeacon of Dorset." Perhaps the traceried panels of the pulpit in the choir, erected on the site, may have been taken from this destroyed stall. Of the 256 churches and chapels belonging then to the diocese, 221 were in the county of Dorset, the few remaining being divided between the archdeaconries of Bath and Gloucester, and the deanery of Bristol. This Dorset preponderance, no doubt accounts for the position of dignity assigned to its archdeacon. There was no office of this kind attached to Bristol, neither was there any to the diocese of Peterborough, established at the same time.

A stall allotted by the Dean and Chapter of his day, to the philanthropist Edward Colston, bore on its canopy a shield with the dolphins badge, and my impression is that it was the next stall to that of the Canon in Residence. The boys from Colston's school, "The Great House," in St. Augustine's Place, sat on each side the communion table, and smothered with their caps the effigies of Sir John Young and Dame Joan his wife. We may presume that the pews beneath the old stalls were added, when the screen was fitted up for the organ, and later still, pews of mean character were erected east of the stalls sloping up to the walls, so that the tombs of the Abbots were hidden from view. Wooden screens went across both north and south aisles. These were given to churches belonging to the Chapter, and much has been worked up in the chancel of Olveston church, where also the brass candelabra of the choir is to be seen.

The easternmost bay of the south aisle had a stone screen of similar character to the Tudor Rood-screen, filling the space between the episcopal throne and the wall. On the aisle side, the Royal arms were above the arched doorway, this time the supporters being unmistakably a dragon and greyhound, and a repetition of the two shields of Thomas Wright in the spandrels. A Tudor rose occupied the place of honour on the choir side, and on the door is the foolish

228 *The Choir of Bristol Cathedral.*

shield adopted by the Chapter in 1624. "Azure a saltire between in chief a portcullis and in each of the other quarters a fleur-de-lis Argent."¹ The eastern end of the choir or reredos was restored to something like its original condition in 1839, having prior to this been hidden by a Corinthian screen, the principal ornamentation of which was "a painting of a triangle surmounted by cherubs," (*Matthews' Directory*, 1794). This is now in the possession of the Rev. Richard Surtees, Holtby Rectory, Yorkshire.

It would appear that at the reconstruction of the choir no provision was made for a fixed pulpit, and we may suppose that this, like many other cathedrals, had one that could be moved about at pleasure. Archdeacon Norris' statement in his *Early History and Architecture of Bristol Cathedral* (p. 40), that there was no pulpit within the choir when he first visited the Cathedral in 1857, is evidently a mistake, for it was not until 1860 that Dean Elliot dismantled the then existing choir, and the canopied pulpit on the north side opposite the bishop's throne is within the memory of many still living. It ranged well with the stalls, and having traceried panels corresponding with them, gave the impression that it was erected at the same time as the rest of the choir. It is shewn in the view of the Choir of Bristol Cathedral, by John Willis.

In Browne Willis's plan (1742) no pulpit is shewn, and Leversage says that formerly the sermons were preached in the nave, the congregation leaving the choir at the conclusion of the Nicene Creed. In 1821 this inconvenient plan was abolished, and a moveable pulpit placed in the choir, this also giving way to the canopied one referred to above, which was erected upon the site of what Browne Willis called "a neat stall for the Archdeacon of Dorset opposite the bishop's throne." When exactly this pulpit was erected I have not been able to discover, but it must have been between 1821 and 1830, when it is shewn in Britton's plan, with the staircase attached. Mr. L. W. Gulley, in *Recol-*

¹ Barrett.

lections and Reflections in Bristol Cathedral, 1849, speaks (p. 47), of "the present modern-antique wooden pulpit surmounted by a pretty ornamental spire." That there was a pulpit in the nave soon after the Reformation is clear from the fact that in 1606 a "fair and costly gallery was erected over against the pulpit by John Barker, Mayor, costing the Mayor and Council £115, with the King's arms gilded over, and under it reserved a fair seat for the King's Majesty or any other Nobleman that should come to this city, and on the ground under the said gallery they also made fair seats for the councils' and clergy's wives and other convenient places also for the Bishop, Dean, and others of the Clergy." (*Bristol Memorialist*, p. 122.) Bishop Thornborough caused it to be pulled down in 1608, alleging that the gallery made the church look like a playhouse, and this gave great offence to the City authorities, who resented the interference by attending divine service at St. Mary Redcliffe, instead of at the Cathedral. "On an appeal to the King, the Bishop was ordered to reconstruct the gallery at his own expense, but he re-erected it at only about three feet from the ground, which, not satisfying the citizens, he was sharply rebuked by the King, and for the future absented himself from Bristol for shame and disgrace." The Bishop appears to have had trouble with his flock in other places, for he was at the same time Dean of York and Vicar of Pickering in that county, and the parishioners complaining to the King that "slender care had been had by his Lordship for the preaching of the Gospel unto the said parishioners and giving them that Christian-like instruction which is fitting, as for a long time they scarce had any sermon at all amongst them (there being four thousand people in the parish) his Lordship consented to procure them twelve sermons every year." (*Old English Social Life as told by the Parish Register*.) Another pulpit was erected in the ante-choir in 1625, being presented by Bishop Wright (1622 to 1633). It was octagonal in plan, a plain stone structure with stone steps and heavy balustrade curving round the

column, the second on the north from the tower. There are a few who still remember its deserted appearance, but I should doubt if any living could have heard a sermon from it. It had an inscription round it from Acts iv., 12, of which one fails to see the appropriateness, considering that the only names mentioned were those of the Cathedral authorities on the shield referred to below.

Mr. Leversage says that shields of the arms of Deans Glenham, and Berkeley, and Bishop Gilbert Ironside impaling the See, were also there, but were removed to the organ screen by Dean Lamb. I never remember these, and think he must have confused them with the trusses of the organ loft. Browne Willis says that the names of the bishop, dean, sub-dean, and canons who were in office at its erection—beginning with Robert Wright, episcopus—were also on the pulpit, and this shield is now lying in the cloister. The names are all in capitals, some linked together.

ROB^s. WRIGHT, Eps.

EDW^d. CHETW., DEC^s.

EDW^d. GREENE, SUBD^s.

THOM. BISSE.

JOHN WILKINS, THES^s.

XPOF^s. GREENE, THEO^s. D^s.

ROB. MARKES.

WILL. YEOMANS.

It must therefore have been built between 1622, the date of Bishop Wright's consecration, and 1627 when Edward Greene vacated his stall. Willis also says that there were seats, for the bishop, dean, prebends and corporation of Bristol, under the organ gallery facing west and occupying spaces between the two piers in nave, both north and south. These are shewn in John Coney's engraving (1818), but the pulpit there does not seem to be sufficiently massive. Coney's drawing is so wrong in perspective and proportion, that his view of the pulpit is not to be relied on implicitly.

In a book entitled *Cursory Observations on the Churches of Bristol*, by S. G. Tovey, 1843, at page 6 is a view

from the Elder Lady Chapel, shewing the stone steps to this pulpit, with open balustrade curving round the column. Canon Randolph, no doubt, preached his notorious sermon on the Coronation of George the IV. from this pulpit. "Belshazzar the king made a great feast." It spoilt the canon's chance of promotion, and he was always known by the name of "Old Belshazzar." Sydney Smith's equally celebrated Fifth of November sermon, was preached from the pulpit in the choir.

The stained glass remains much the same as it was in the old days, and has been fully described by Mr. Winston in his Paper in the Bristol volume of the Archæological Institute of their meeting here in 1851. The east window was restored in 1847, and an old friend told me, with a natural regret for the past, how far more beautiful in colour it was before it was tampered with. It had, he said, all the effect of a beautiful kaleidoscope. The windows at the end of the choir aisles are reputed to have been the gift of Nell Gwynn, but nearly all writers are at pains to throw doubt on the tradition, mainly from the fact that the arms of Dean Glenham¹ appear on the windows. He has been supposed from this to have been the donor, and he would hardly like to have been associated (it has been said) with the frail beauty. However, he had no reason to be proud of his own family connexions, for he owed his elevation to the See of St. Asaph to the influence of his neice, the equally notorious Lady Castlemayne, and Pepys does not hesitate to call him "a drunken, swearing rascal, and a scandal to the Church." The question should be settled if the following extract from a MS. quoted in *Bristol, Past and Present*, vol. iii., p. 87, is to be relied on.

"1683 December 13th, the King and Mistress Gwyn came privily to Bristoll, and drove to the colledge to see the colored window Mistress Gwyn had set up, and the

¹Or a chevron gules between three torteaux. Crest—A falcon Volant, beaked and legged or.

232 *The Choir of Bristol Cathedral.*

King did chide Mistress Gwyn for being soe wasteful." And at the eastern end of the north aisle of the Cathedral, at the commencement of the present century, below the window was a board with the following couplet—

"For this windowe faire, azure, ruby, golden,
To Mistress Gwyn this church are beholden."

The late Mr. Bell shewed me, a few years ago, some fragments of glass which he had long had in his possession, and which came from the Cathedral. There were some very interesting details of architecture and costume, and I was so struck with one quarry that he very kindly gave me a tracing of it. It represents a trefoil leaf in the centre of a circular wattled enclosure, secured by a gate, and is, I suppose, designed to illustrate the doctrine of the Trinity, enshrined in the Church. This glass has been placed in a window in the north choir aisle, but at too great a height to distinguish the details.

The Codrington monument stood originally on the north side of the choir, just east of Bishop Paul Bush's tomb, and is shewn in this place on Barrett's ground plan of 1789, and on Britton's in 1830. It is hard to believe how the authorities could so recently have committed such an act of vandalism as to cut away the reredos at the end of the north choir aisle for its reception. The reredos is shewn in its original condition in *Skelton's Antiquities*, pl. 53. It seems to have been mutilated and walled up in the seventeenth century, and was discovered by the late Mr. Phillips (sub-sacrist) on pulling down this wall. An eyewitness describes this as having been literally dug out to make room for the Codrington monument.

"The old order changeth yielding place to new,"

And so the destruction of the old choir of Henry VIII. dragged down with it some time-honoured customs, now only matters of memory. The bishop's throne was always occupied by ladies, the place well holding three chairs, while ladies and gentlemen together always filled the stalls. This latter

was usual in most cathedrals, and the Comte de Cominges, writing as far back as August 15th, 1665, says, "It appears very strange to see in the stalls of the choir a bishop and canons, dressed in their pontifical robes, have by them their wives and children." A Scotchman (he says) wrote some time ago as to this, "Vidi Episcopum et Episcopam, Episcopulos et Episcopulas"—I saw the bishop and the bishopess, and the little bishops and the little bishopesses. (*A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II.*—Jusseraud, 1892.) The bishop, seen only at rare intervals, always wore his full wig, and entered with a separate procession up the south aisle of the choir to his throne, preceded by the minor canons. The Lessons were always read by the minor canons, from the stalls, and when the Lord's Prayer occurred during the reading, the whole congregation knelt. The Bidding Prayer was used before all sermons, and its sonorous tones were much missed when this ancient form was discontinued. The dean and canon returned to their stalls after the Nicene Creed, and the Sentences with the Prayer for the "Church Militant" were read from the same places. The collections (there were no "offertories" then) were taken by two of the congregation at the choir door, and the plates not taken to the communion table but direct to the Chapter House. When I first knew the Cathedral there were not more than two collections in the year, and the congregational singing was restricted to a verse or two of Tate and Brady.

The procession left the choir in reversed order, the dean leading the way behind the choristers, and at the door of the choir the dean and canons turned and bowed to the minor canons, who retired to the Berkeley chapel, the dignitaries proceeding to the cloisters. Another custom, was that in the absence of the dean or canon, the procession was headed by the minor canons, followed by the boys and lay clerks, but without any verger. There were six canons in those old days, three of them connected by marriage with the Lord Chancellor Eldon, one a scion of the House of Beaufort, one a tutor to the present Duke of Cambridge, and

another the Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge. Lord Eldon was mindful of the apostolic injunction to "do good especially to them of the household of faith," considering this to mean his own family. He gave the fortunate clergyman who married his daughter a stall at Bristol, another at Gloucester, and another at Norwich, in addition to the family living.

The dean was Dr. Lamb, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Vicar of Olveston, the bishop being Dr. Monk, also Canon of Westminster. It was often a matter of debate amongst the old cathedral goers, whether two of the canons during their long incumbency of many years, had ever entered the pulpit; but as far as I could gather, both Lord William Somerset and Canon Surtees had preached one if not two sermons. The family party made the stalls as comfortable as they could, one of them being screened off on one side by a crimson curtain, and on the other by a glass door. The choristers were keen to inflict a fine upon any who came into choir without the full compliment of clerical costume, a demand not always responded to in canonical language. The services, though dignified and well rendered, were not nearly so popular as at present, and I well remember on a Christmas day that the whole of the service and the sermon was taken by one of the minor canons, the only official present. The Rev. W. W. Gibbon writes, November 13th, 1899, "I have a distinct recollection of taking the whole service at Bristol Cathedral, during Canon Guthrie's residence, but when it was I cannot tell, the absence of dean and canon was purely accidental." Installations and enthronizations made no impression then on the citizens, nor much on the clergy interested, for my memory recalls the time when Bishop Baring (not caring to appear in person) was enthroned by proxy, the precentor taking his place on the throne, and receiving the oath of allegiance from Canon Moseley, the only dignitary present, while the congregation could not have numbered more than a dozen.

I concluded a Paper on the "*Misereres of the Cathedral*,"



STONE SCULPTURES PRESERVED IN THE CLOISTER OF
BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

PLATE XVI.

The Choir of Bristol Cathedral. 235

read at a meeting of the Club in January, 1888, by expressing regret that the old screen should be allowed to lie rotting in the churchyard. Since then, by the care of the present dean, the fragments have been removed to the cloisters, and we are promised that they shall be used up in the back of the new sedilia. I will therefore finish this paper with the hope that the promise may soon be fulfilled.

Report of the Excavations at Caerwent, 1899.

BY A. T. MARTIN, M.A., F.S.A.

Read November 1st, 1899.

When the Club visited Caerwent, in May 1894, it was suggested that "with the co-operation of the owners of property and funds to carry out the work further excavations on the site might lead to important additions to our knowledge of its history."¹

From various causes the proposed exploration has not been systematically undertaken till the present year, when the subject was brought before a meeting of the Committee of the Club (March 1st, 1899), the President, the Bishop of Bristol, in the chair, and it was resolved that though the Club could not undertake the proposed exploration, they might assist it in various ways, and a committee of the members was appointed (with power to add to their number) for the purpose of taking steps to carry out the scheme, consisting of the Bishops of Bristol and Clifton, Messrs. A. T. Martin, A. E. Hudd, J. E. Pritchard, and R. H. Warren, Mr. Martin and Mr. Hudd consenting to act *pro tem.* as Secretary and Treasurer. Mr. Martin undertook to communicate with the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association and others, asking their aid and support. Later at a meeting held at Caerwent, Lord Tredegar was elected President, and a general committee was appointed.

The excavations, which have been conducted under the direction of Messrs. Hudd, Martin, Pritchard, and Ward, began on August 17th on a plot of three acres of meadow land in the south-west corner of the city. On the west

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. iii., p. 57.

side of this plot the city wall is continuous, and, except possibly in one spot, both inner and outer faces are still clearly visible, though, of course, the wall has lost something of its original height. On the south of this plot the wall is much more decayed, and in several places has been destroyed, with the exception of the inner face. This has, however, been traced by trenches, and has no doubt been preserved by the earth which has accumulated against it. The rounded angle between the west and south walls, when cleared of briars and bushes, was found to be comparatively well preserved, and in one place the wall cannot, on the inner side, be far short of its original height. The excavations here were extremely interesting. In one place holes were sunk down to the foundations on both sides, so as to obtain a complete section of the lower part of the wall. The lower courses were found to rest on a layer of uncemented, irregular blocks of stone or boulders, at a depth of about 11 ft. 6 in. below the present interior ground level. The width of the wall at this place was about 11 ft. at the base, diminishing by offsets to about 9 ft. 6 in. at the ground level.

This excavation also revealed on the inner side of the wall a notable change in the nature of the masonry. The older work of good and regular courses was succeeded towards the east by very inferior and irregular masonry. The fracture or line of junction between the two may possibly, but by no means certainly, indicate repairs. To the east of this excavation, and at about the middle of the rounded angle, a platform, presumably for ballistæ or other engines of war, was uncovered. This platform, which may have served also to strengthen the curved portion of the wall, was certainly carried up some feet above the interior ground level.

The ground inside the walls was examined by trenches dug at an angle of about 45 degrees with the city walls. For a distance of about one hundred feet from the west wall no foundations, with one small exception, were discovered; but the trenches revealed, at a depth of about three feet,

a layer of black earth, which was fairly well distributed over the extreme south-west corner of the city. This layer contained much pottery of the commoner kind, coins, and bones of animals, and it has further interest as affording an indication of the contour of the ground in Roman times.

Further to the east foundations were speedily found, and when followed up revealed the existence of at least three separate buildings. No. 1 (beginning on the west) consists of two rooms, the larger of which contains one furnace of a not very usual type, and another construction in the centre of the area, which may have been a furnace, but, if so, it is somewhat peculiar in design. This building, which is built across walls of an earlier construction, would seem to have been a factory rather than a dwelling-house. Immediately north-east of, but not certainly belonging to, this building, is a rectangular paved space of about 13 ft. by 6 ft., enclosed by four walls of which the southern one is pierced by a well-turned arch. This space was almost entirely filled with fine earth, and contained slag, fragments of metal resembling the collars of a pipe, and quantities of pottery, including an unbroken specimen of a jar of black ware. Although there were many traces of the action of fire, it is by no means certain that this construction served as a furnace, and the arch in the south wall is an obvious objection to its having been a tank. It is possible that it may have had some connection with the trade or manufacture carried on in the adjoining building, but at present its use must remain undecided.

From this point a wall led eastwards for some 67 ft. to a large house of a most interesting type. This house consisted of a centre area or court surrounded by rooms on all four sides. A corridor also runs along the outer side of the eastern rooms. The rooms on the north-east and south sides are mostly small; on the east there are two large rooms, one of which contains a projecting course of masonry abutting against its north wall, which may have been the foundation of a dresser or of a bench. On the

south side there is a hypocaust with brick pilæ, but the pavement has disappeared. The floors of most of the rooms were either of mortar, *opus signinum* work, or rammed pebbles. The central area has not yet been fully explored, but it is of peculiar interest, as it shows an ambulatory paved with coarse red tesserae separated, at any rate on the western side, from the internal area by courses of solid masonry, which supported columns. Of these, two have been found so far, and one capital with good early mouldings of the Roman Doric order. A finely constructed stone drain led from this western side of the court under the rooms on the south side of the house.

Projecting from the southern side of the house is a platform, 14 ft. by 12 ft., of solid masonry, with channels cut in its surface leading into a drain on its western side. The drain, which has a steep fall to the south, is paved with large tiles. This platform appears, with very little doubt, to have been a latrine, but its size is unusual.

North of the house No. 1, the foundations of another fine house with a hypocaust, and a room with an apsidal end, have been found; but as this house runs into ground which will not be taken up for excavation till next year, no further details can be given at present.

While these excavations were going on, Mr. Morgan, the village wheelwright and smith, who has been greatly interested in the explorations, set to work with his sons to excavate the interior of the North Gate, which happens to be situated in a field belonging to him. Acting under advice they sank a hole, which revealed the two piers of the gate, the tops of which were only a few inches below the surface. The gateway itself had been blocked up at some later date by regular courses of masonry resting on massive blocks of stone, one of which was a very fine capital. On the outside of the wall the turn of the arch resting on the western pier can still be seen, so that when these excavations are resumed next year it is nearly certain that the structure of almost the entire gateway can be accurately determined.

240 *Report of Excavations at Caerwent.*

All the excavations have been fruitful in finds of the usual character, but though many of them are interesting, no object of exceptional value has been found. The numerous coins are mostly late, and but few are well preserved. Samian ware is not very plentiful, and is mostly in small pieces. Among the metal objects are a dagger, a curious little pocket-knife, and some good styli and pins. Only two fibulae have been found hitherto; but, considering that the area excavated was for a long time arable land, and that the walls are often only a few inches under the surface, it is not strange that objects of this class are rare. No rubbish pits have been found so far, but no doubt, as at Silchester, these, when they are found, will be abundantly fruitful. All the finds have been already labelled and arranged in a temporary Museum, for which accommodation has been kindly provided in the village by the Rev. J. Berryman.

Work will be resumed next spring, when the central area of the large house and the house on the north will be thoroughly explored. So far the committee have every reason to be satisfied with the results, and if only sufficient funds can be raised, there is ground of a most promising nature to be excavated, and enough work for at least three years.

The expenses of this year amount to about £130. These include rent, fencing, other preliminary expenses, and wages for eleven weeks' digging. There is a balance in hand with which to begin work next spring, but more funds are required for the coming year, and it is hoped that all who are interested will endeavour to secure more subscribers. A balance sheet will be printed and circulated at the end of the twelve months' work, when a detailed report will be presented. Subscriptions and donations may be sent to Mr. A. E. Hudd, Hon. Treasurer, 94, Pembroke Road, Clifton.

The excavating committee have received valuable assistance from Mr. T. Ashby, of Christ Church, Oxford, and from the Rev. W. A. Downing, Vicar of Caerwent.

Some Gorges Wills.

BY THE REV. GEORGE S. MASTER, M.A.

(*Read November 1st, 1899.*)

The late Rev. Frederick Brown, Rector of Nailsea, well known to antiquaries as a painstaking copyist of Somerset Wills, a series of which, in six volumes, printed at the private press of Mr. F. A. Crisp, F.S.A., of Chiswick, forms an abiding monument of his industry and patience, had in addition to those series preserved among his Gorges papers, a few others not included in those volumes; these he bequeathed with other Gorges documents to the Rectors of Wraxall for the time being, to the present one of whom I am indebted for permission to translate them for this journal.

Mr. Brown considered No. 1 to be of exceptional interest and curiosity, being so unusually lengthy, at a period when wills were ordinarily very short. I fear it has suffered by translation, although some Latin words have needed to be supplemented in the original by their equivalent in English.

The minute care of the devout testatrix in the disposition of her valuables is very noticeable, and constitutes a will of unusual type.

No. 2. The will of Sir Edmund Gorges, Knight of the Bath 1512, is a typical knight's testament, containing a large number of small benefactions to the churches in the neighbourhood, with directions for the erection of his altar tomb, under which, with his first wife, he lies buried in Wraxall church.

No. 3. The will of Sir Edward Gorges, Knight, eldest son of Sir Edmund aforesaid, 1565, is still shorter than the

others, and, except that it forms one of the consecutive series, contains little of interest.

No. 4. The will of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, founder of the State of Maine, dated 1647, is not one of Mr. Brown's series, but has been obtained from Baxter's *Memoirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, published by the Prince Society, Boston, United States of America, 1890, and relates exclusively to his chattels at Long Ashton, no reference whatever being made to his larger interest in the Province of Maine, of which he was Lord Paramount.

NUMBER 1.

Will of Agnes Gorges, sister of Sir Thomas Beauchamp, relict of Thomas Norton, and Thomas Gorges, Esquires, A.D. 1419.

The Will, written in contracted Latin, is in the Probate Office in London, and is difficult to decipher. It was carefully copied for the late Rev. Frederick Brown, by Mr. S. C. Paris, and is preserved at Wraxall Rectory, among the Gorges papers. The following is an accurate translation:—

"In the Name of God Amen. On the twentieth day of the month of August 1419. I, Agnes late the wife of Thomas Gorges, in my pure widowhood being of sound mind and good memory, make my will in this manner, In the first place I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, to Saint Mary His Mother, and to all His Saints, and my body to be buried in the Church of Saint Werburgh Bristol. Also I bequeath to the Rector of the same Church of Saint Werburgh, for my tithes forgotten, and to pray for my soul vi^s viii^d. Also I bequeath in aid of the repair of one window in the Chancel of the Church of All Saints Wraxall in the County of Somerset, which window indeed the Rectors of the Church aforesaid ought to have done, xx^s. Also I bequeath to the Cathedral Church of Worcester xx^d. Also I bequeath in aid of the repair of one aisle called the Northyle in the Church of All Saints Wraxall aforesaid newly built by the parishioners of it, xl^s. Also I bequeath to the same

Church one gilded chalice, one pair of vestments of baudekyn¹ of green and black colours, one black and embroidered frontal; so that all the aforesaid thus bequeathed to that Church may remain in that Church, for prayers (ad orandum) for my soul, and the souls of Thomas Gorges, & Thomas Norton my husbands. Also I bequeath to the Church of Saint Catherine of Nailsea one pair of vestments, for prayers for my soul and the souls of my husbands aforesaid. Also I bequeath to the Order of the Minor Friars of Bristol xx^s. Also I bequeath to the brethren of the Carmelite, Augustinian, and Preaching orders of Bristol, to each of them vi^s viii^p. Also I bequeath to the nuns of the House of Saint Mary Magdalene of Bristol xl^s. Also I bequeath for distribution among the destitute poor unable to help themselves at Wraxall aforesaid vi^s viii^d. Also I bequeath for distribution amongst indigent prisoners xvi^s viii^d. Also to a devout and competent Chaplain, to celebrate one whole trentale of Saint Gregory for one year after my death, for my soul and the souls of all the faithful departed cviii^s viii^d. Also I bequeath for the celebration immediately after my death by devout and competent Chaplains of a thousand masses iiii^s iiii^s iiii^d. Also I bequeath woollen clothing to thirteen poor people immediately after my death. And it is of my special wish and appointment that neither on the day of my interment nor at any other time shall any expense be incurred in trappings (hensis) or any other matters but what shall be due to Holy Church: and that all other disbursements shall be expended upon chaplains, intercessors, poor people, and indigent prisoners, and other pious charities. Also I bequeath to my son Theobald a gold brooch wrought with an angel, a gold ring with a stone called a diamond, a silver cup and cover wrought with a boss, on this condition, that the aforesaid Theobald should be a friend and helper to my executors in fulfilling my last wish; but so that my executors aforesaid may hold the cup and dispose of it for my soul, as it shall seem better to them.

¹ Brocade.

And I will that my executors aforesaid may have the control of the aforesaid bequests bequeathed to the same Theobald, until he be married. And if it should happen which God forbid, that the aforesaid Theobald should die before he is thus married, then my aforesaid executors may have all my above bequeathed effects, and dispose of them for my soul and the souls of my late husbands, and of the aforesaid Theobald, and all faithful departed. Also I bequeath to my son William a gold brooch (nowche) wrought with a greyhound,¹ (leporale) a gold ring with a stone called a diamond, (diamante) and I will that my executors shall have the control of the aforesaid bequests to the same William so bequeathed, until the aforesaid William be married, or shall come to his full age, and if the said William die within the said time, then my aforesaid executors may have the legacies and dispose of them for my soul and the souls of my late husbands, and of all faithful departed. Also I bequeath to my daughter Isabella, for her marriage to some man of sufficiency and honour xv marks of silver, one pair of beads (precum) of gold, with a brooch of gold, a gold chain with an image (cera) of gold, all my pearls wrought and unwrought, four hoods or chaplets (chapidula) one of which black and green is wrought with pearls, another white, another red, another black, and there are three variegated ones; six veils, of which two are of lawn, two of purple, two of parys, one gown of scarlet furred with miniver, one 'blodian' furred with miniver, two caps one of which is scarlet the other white, one kirtle with a pair of sleeves (manicarum) of scarlet, my best saddle with all the harness belonging to it, a pair of trunks (trussing kone) a little chest called a dressing case (tyring cone) of spruce, and one long and large chest. And I will that my executors may have the control of all the aforesaid goods above bequeathed to the aforesaid Isabella, until the aforesaid Isabella shall be honourably married, and if it happen that the aforesaid Isabella die, which God forbid, before she be so married, then my aforesaid executors may

¹ The crest of the family.

have the aforesaid goods above bequeathed to Isabella, and dispose of them for my soul and the souls of my late husbands, and of the aforesaid Isabella, and all faithful departed. Which bequests made to the aforesaid Isabella in form aforesaid. I give make and bequeath on the condition and form following—That after my death she shall not ask for, claim or hold any of my other goods or chattels on any account whatever, and if she do so, then that my legacies to her out of my goods aforesaid shall be void and of no effect, and she shall have and enjoy nothing. Also I bequeath to Thomas Beauchamp Knight (chevalier) my brother, a silver cup and cover engraved with eagles, a table of spruce, my best featherbed (vederbedde) with the bolster belonging thereto, and I request the said Thomas my brother, of his great fraternal kindness to be a cordial and true friend to my executors, for all and singular the matters which they have to do when they want him, in order to fulfil and carry out my last wishes. Also I bequeath to Henry Specherley ten marks of silver, a pair of beads of jet, a gold brooch with a diamond, a gold ring with a saphire (saffyr), a silver cup and cover wrought with griffins, six silver spoons (cochlearia), a bed with a pair of my best blankets, a pair of linen sheets of three breadths, with a purple counterpane, a feather pillow, a pair of linen sheets of two breadths, with a mattress (materato), and my second best feather bed, equal to the best. Also I bequeath to Marion Blak c shillings in silver, a pair of jet beads with guides (the larger beads in a rosary) of silver gilt, a gold brooch wrought with a wreath, a gold ring engraved with Jesu, a silver cup and cover engraved with this band—“Jesus est amor meus,” six silver spoons, a silvered and gilt belt engraved with peacocks’ feathers (pecok feders), a bed with a pair of blankets, a pair of linen sheets of three breadths with a yellow counterpane, a feather pillow, a pair of linen sheets of two breadths, with a mattress and a feather bed, two furred gowns, of which one is black and one green, and a “cella blodia,” and I will that the same

person shall have all other my garments that were in use, and veils, such as gowns, caps, kirtles and veils, except those already bequeathed to my daughter Isabella. Also I bequeath to Richard Herbard twenty shillings in silver, a bed with a pair of blankets, a pair of linen sheets and a mattress. Also I bequeath to William Birde twenty shillings in silver, a bed with a pair of blankets and a pair of linen sheets. Also I bequeath to John Chambers twenty shillings in silver, a bed, a pair of blankets, a pair of linen sheets. Also I bequeath to Alice Cumyngs twenty shillings, a bed, etc. Also I bequeath to William Hunte twenty shillings in silver, a bed and a pair of linen sheets. Of this my will I ordain and make Thomas Marshall, Vicar of All Saints Church, Bristol, Robert Veel of the County of Somerset, and the aforesaid Henry Specherley my executors and to each of my executors I bequeath forty shillings in silver. The residue of all my goods in this my will not otherwise bequeathed I give and bequeath to my aforesaid executors that they may dispose of them and ordain them for my soul, the souls of my late husbands, my parents, and all the faithful departed.

This present will was executed on the day and year above mentioned. In testimony of which I have appended my seal to these presents.

When I, Agnes, late the wife of Thomas Gorge recently by my will, the date of which was 1419, bequeathed divers goods and chattels to divers persons and ordained in the same will that the residue of my goods, after payment of my debts and other burdens and expenses whatsoever, should be disposed of by my executors according to their discretion for my soul and the souls of my husbands and all the faithful departed, nevertheless my will is that my executors out of the aforesaid residue, if any should remain, should give a Chalice to the Chapel of Nailsea, and a Chalice to the Chapel of Burton, and ten marks for the marriage portion of my daughter Isabella, over and above what has been bequeathed to her in my will to be held under the same form and

condition as the other bequests made to her in my will. And twenty shillings to Richard Herberd, and twenty to William Birde in addition to the legacies already made to them, and twenty shillings for distribution among my poor tenants at Wraxall beyond what has been already bequeathed to them in my will. And the residue, if there be any, shall be disposed of in Alms for my soul and the souls of all the faithful departed.

	Theobaldus filius Testatr
Probat.	Willielmus filius
Jan. 14. 1419-20.	Isabella filia
	Thomas Beauchamp Frat. Text ^r .

NUMBER 2.

Will of Sir Edmund Gorges, Knight of the Bath, lord of the manor of Wraxall, 1512.

"In the Name of God Amen. I Sur Edmund Gorges Knyght lord of Wraxall Somerset, beyng of good memory and hole mynde lawde and praise be unto our Saviour Christ Jesus make and ordeyne this my present Testament and last Will in form and manner following. First I bequeath my sowle to Almighty God, to His blessed moder Virgyn Seynt Mary and to all the holy company of Heven and my body to be buried in the Chancell within the Parisshe Church of All Seynts in Wraxall foresaid. Item I bequeath unto the High Aulter of the same Church for forgotten tythings and offerings, by me negligently doon 20^d. Item I bequeath to the Cathedrall Church of Wells towards the reparacions of the same 3^s 4^d. Item to Wraxall Church there, me to be had in mynde yerely in every quatuor tempora as it is there used £3. 6. 4. On this I bequeath to the same Church of Wraxhall a gowne of crymsyn velvett to make a payre of vestments for the high Aulter. Item to the same Church also in recompense of myn offeryngs beholden to divers places for me in my sicknesse a Chalice to the valeur of £5 to be occupied for All Halowen. Item I will that there

be song and said for my soule and all Christen soules a trentale of masses the day of my burying and day of my moneths mynde. Furthermore I will and ordegn that every ordre of the four orders of Freers at Bristol syng and say for my soule and all Christen soules a trentale of masses, and every ordre to have for there labor $13\frac{3}{4}^d$ and a quarter of beeffe. Item I bequeathe to Yatton Church Clevedon Churches, Kingston Walton Weston Portishede Clapton, Portbury, Easton, Lye, and Ashton Church to every of them $3\frac{3}{4}^d$. Item to Barrow-Gurney Church $3\frac{3}{4}^d$ and to the Convent of the same $3\frac{3}{4}^d$. Item I give and bequethe to the Chapel of Burton $6\frac{3}{8}^d$. Item to Backwell Church $3\frac{3}{4}^d$. Item to Chelvey Church $3\frac{3}{4}^d$. Item to the Chapell of Naylsee $6\frac{3}{8}^d$. Item to Tykynham Church $6\frac{3}{8}^d$. Item I bequeth to my son William Gorges the manor of Birdecumbe with all the appurtenances lying in Wraxhall, Naylsee, Tykynham, and Portished. Item I bequeth to my son William Gorges the Hole¹ House and the Mogge² House with all their appurtenances lying within the Parishe of Tykynham to be had and hold the said manor of Birdecumbe with all appurtenances lying in Wraxhalle, Naylsee, Tykynham and Portishede and also the hole house and the Mogge house with all their appurtenancies lying in Tykynham Parishe to the foresaid William Gorges and to his heyres in fee for ever. And if so be that the said William Gorges dye without heyres of his body lawfully begotten that then the said manor of Birdcumbe with all the appurtenancies and the hole house &c., retorne again to the right heyres of me the foresaid Sir Edmond Gorges. Item I bequeth to my son John Gorges an annuytie of £6. 13. 4. to be paid of my son Edward and of my wife Jane late the wife of Sir Morgan Kydwelly, that is to say £3. 6. 8 of the revenues and rentes of my son Edward's lands and £3. 6. 8 of the

¹ The Hole House was probably used for out-door games, with holes cut in the turf.

² The Mogge House may, perhaps, derive its appellation from the surname of a former owner, or occupier.

revenues and rents gowing owte of the lands of my wiffe joyntur during his life naturall yerely to be paid. Item I bequeth to my son Edward Gorges a gowne of tawyn velvett and also a gowne of blacke velvett. Item a doublett of cloth of gold. Item a gowne of fyne blake with a hode. Item a jackedt of black velvett gurded with cloth of golde. Item I bequeth to my son William Gorges two chamlett gownes on single and another furred. Item a jakett of blake velvett with slevys. Item all my nooses. Item I bequeath to my son John Gorges a gowne of blak velvett lyned with sarsenett. Item a jakett of velvett without slevys. Item a gowne of tawny chamlett. Item a gounne of tawny clothe urred with black bogee. Item a mottley cotte. Item I bequeth to Sir Theobalde Piers Vicary of Portebury to pray for me 40^s. Also I bequeth to my lady Jane my wief all such goodes which came by her owt of Dorsetshire on this condicion Imprimis to pay to my son John Gorges yerely during his lif £3. 6. 8. of the rents and revenues of her jointure. Item to make my tombe at hir costs and charge drawyng to the value of twenty marks. Item she to pay for the Chalice which is bequethen to Alhalowen in recum-pense of my offeryngs behoten for me. Item and to give to my son Thomas Newton and to my daughter Margarett a certeyn of all manner of stuff of householde to helpe them to begyn theire household. And also to pay my son William Gorges yerely 40^s during his lif. Item to find a preeste syngnyng in Wraxhalle for my soule and all Christen soules the space of four yeares fully to be completed and also pay fully and holly all my detts and she this dooing to have all her foresaid goods, &c. The residue of my goods not bequeathed I give and bequeath to Edward Gorges my son and heyre, whom I sett make and ordeyne my trewe and lawfull executor to dispose it for the welth of my soule as besemyth hym best to doo And Thomas Tubbs terneman supervisor and overseer of this my last will be truly executed in every point and he to have for his labour 40^s Witnesses Sir Thomas Gyllyngham Rector of Wraxall and Sir Theobald

Piers of Portebury and others. Proveat Lambeth April 3 1512 and Administration granted to Edward Gorges, Exor."

Sir Edmund lies buried under a fine altar tomb with heraldic decorations, which supports full length recumbent effigies of himself and his first wife, in a recess on the north side of the Chancel of Wraxall Church.

NUMBER 3.

Will of Sir Edward Gorges, Knight (eldest son of Sir Edmund, K.B.), lord of the manor of Wraxall, 1565.

"In the name of God Amen, this 6th day of February, 1565. I, Edward Gorges of Wraxall Somerset Knt being sick in body do make this my last Will and Testament in manner following First I render and give again into the hands of the Lord my God my spirit, which he of His fatherlie goodness gave unto me nothing doubting but that this my Lord God for His mercies sake set forth in the precious blood of His dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour and Redeemer will receive my soul into His glory. And as concerning my bodie this I with a good will commend unto the ground and to be buried in the Chancel of the Church of Wraxall with my ancestors. Imprimis I give unto the poor of the Parish of Wraxall 40^s. I give unto the Church of the Parish 20^s. Item I give unto St. Andrew's Church Wells 5^s. The residue of all my goods I give and bequeath unto Edward Gorges my cousin¹ and heire apparente, whom I make my sole executor to see my body brought into the earth. In witness thereof I have caused this my last Will to be made under my hand and seale in the presence of Ann Gorge widow, Francis Gorges and Ann Gorges the widow of Edmund Gorges."

NUMBER 4.

The Will of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Founder of the State of Maine from the Probate Court at Wells.

"In the Name of God Amen. The ffourth day of May in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand, six hundred,

¹ i.e., his grandson.

fortie and seven. I, Sir Ferdinando Gorges of Long Ashton in the Countie of Somerset Knight, being sick of body but of good memory thankes be given to God, revoking all former wills & testaments, do make this my last will and testament, in manner & form following :

First. I bequeath my soule into the hands of Almighty God, my Maker and Redeemer, hoping assuredly through the death & passion of my Saviour Jesus Christ to have remission of my sinnes & to be made partaker of Life everlasting. And my Body I committ to the earth, from which it came.

Item, I give unto the Poore the some of Twentie Pounds to be distributed att such time & in such manner, as my ex^r herein named shall thinke fitt.

The rest of all my goods, cattles, & chattles, debts & duties owing to me whatsoever, I do freely give & bequeath unto my dearely beloved wife, Dame Elizabeth Gorges, whom I do hereby make my sole ex^r of this my last Will & Testament & I do desire my loving friends John Buckland of West Harptry & Samuel Gorges of Wraxall in the Countie of Somerset Esqr. to be overseers of this my last Will & Testament, & to be assisting to my said ex^r as she shall have occasion.

In witness whereof to this my last Will & Testament I have hereunto sett my hand & seale, even this fourth day of May, Anno Dom. 1647.¹

Memorandum, that the word *fourth* in the first line was interlined before the signing and sealing hereof, & was afterwards signed, sealed & published in the presence of S. Gorges, Jo. Buckland, Ed. Bell, William Satchfield.

F. Gorges."

¹ No notice is here taken of the Province of New England, or Maine, perhaps because by the Royal Grant of 1639 it was conferred upon Sir Ferdinando and his heirs. It descended to his son John, and his grandson Ferdinando, from whom it passed to Massachusetts in 1677. This Will is printed in vol. ii., pp. 149-50, of *Baxter's Memoir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, published by the Prince Society, Boston, U.S.A. 1890.

The Saxon Cross found in Bath, 1898.

BY THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP BROWNLOW, D.D., V.P.

(*Read December 8th, 1899.*)

We are able by the kindness of Major Charles E. Davis, F.S.A., to publish two photographs of a leaden Cross, which was discovered in July, 1898, and exhibited by him to the British Association, when they visited Bath. These photographs will supply the place of any detailed description of the Cross.

It will suffice to say that it is of lead and quite thin. Its extreme length is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its breadth $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Major Davis has convinced himself that it was cast, and not engraved with a tool. It was found in the hypocaust of the Roman Bath, seventeen feet below the present level of the ground, and near the remains of the conventual Church which was built over the Baths in the ninth century. The lower arm or foot of the Cross has evidently been broken off, and other parts have been damaged. The characters are in the style of the ninth or tenth century.

The back bears a short inscription, unfortunately mutilated in the most important part. The letters remaining run thus:

ANNO AB incarna . . . dñi ntri
KL octobris Θ E(a)dgyuu . . .
cgregationis Soror . . .



Photo by]

THE SAXON CROSS
(FRONT).

[W. G. Lewis

PLATE XVII.



Photo by]

THE SAXON CROSS
(BACK).

[W. G. Lewis

PLATE XVIII.

Saxon Cross found in Bath, 1898. 253

With the help of Major Davis and Mr. Blakiston, I should propose to read

ANNO AB INCARNATIONE . . . DOMINI NOSTRI (*Jesu Christi*)
(*xv*!) KALENDAS OCTOBRIS Θ EADGYVU
CONGREGATIONIS SOROR(*um*)

In the.....year from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ
On the (15th) day before the Kalends of October, died Eadgyfu
of the Community of Sisters.

Queen Eadgiva or Eadgyfu was the mother of King Edmund, the grandson of Alfred the Great; her signature appears on many charters during the reigns of Edmund, Edred, Edwy and Edgar. Edmund's wife, Aelfgiva, or Aelfgyvu, died according to Ethelwerd, in 948. Ethelwerd adds:—"postque sanctificatur (was canonized, or regarded as a saint) in cujus mausoleo, cooperante Deo, usque ad praesens innumerosa equidem miracula fiunt in coenobio quod vulgo Scestesbyrig nuncupatur." (*Chron.* iv., 6.) Edmund's wife was thus venerated as a saint at Shaftesbury. Possibly the Nuns at Bath were closely connected with that community. If she is the lady referred to, the missing date would be *dcccclviii*. The "XV KL Octobris" would be September 17th, Θ stands for ΘANATOC, death, and is common in Roman epitaphs.

The front of the Cross is covered with inscribed letters. The edge of the circular background contains the names LVCAS and IOHANNES, and the other two quadrants evidently bore MATTHAEVS and MARCVS. The square form of the C in LVCAS, De Rossi says, was not known in Rome before the eleventh century, but was common in Gaul during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.

The arms of what may be called the St. Andrew's cross bear the words ADONAI, ΘEOC, ELOF, and what looks like SABAI or SADAI. These are names of God in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The Saxon scribes were fond of displaying their

254 *Saxon Cross found in Bath, 1898.*

knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. Thus, a grant made by King Edgar to the Nuns at Romsey begins:—

“Anno dominicae incarnationis dcccclxviii, Christo Theo, etc.
+ Omnium jura regnorum coelestium atque terrestium claustra,” etc.

In another grant to his kinswoman Aelgifu occurs:—

“Regnante Zabaoth in perpetuum dñō ntřō Jhesu Christo,” etc.

The transverse arms of the Cross have a large Alpha at the end of the right arm, and doubtless an Omega at the end of the other. The three lines of inscription are much mutilated,

	Xpe	cunabula cuncta	
A	P ce	squalore sorde voluta	(ω)
	Suppl	deposco miserere	

Mr. Blakiston reads it thus:—

	Chri(<i>ste omnium hominum</i>)	cunabula cuncta (<i>disponens</i>)	
A	P(urifica me)	squalore sorde voluta(<i>tam</i>)	(ω)
	Suppl(ex tibi Domine)	deposco miserere (<i>mei</i>).	

These lines he translates:—

O Christ, who ordereth the birth of all,
Purify me, prostrate in grief,
O Lord, I suppliantly beseech Thee, have mercy on me.

“Grief” seems hardly strong enough for “squalore sorde volutatam,” and “wallowing in mire and filth (of sin)” seems more near to the idea conveyed. Major Davis’ reading of *Peccatrix* seems better warranted than *Purifica* by the remains of the inscription.

The upright limbs of the Cross bear an inscription running across that just described. Major Davis reads:—

Qui in virtute	crucis mundo
Tartara dirupit	claustra celestia a (<i>peruit</i>)
Et omnibus dedit	p fidelibus Sa (<i>lutem</i>).

If we supply, with Mr. Blakiston, the end of the first line, *mundum purgavit*, and make the “P” into *piis* or

Saxon Cross found in Bath, 1898. 255

pacem, for there is not room for *populis*, we shall make out the sense to be:—

He who by the power of the Cross has purified the world,
Has burst asunder hell, and opened the gates of heaven,
He has given (peace and) salvation to all his (pious) faithful.

Major Davis considers this Cross to be a memorial of Eadgyfu, the Queen of Edward the Elder, who, when her grandson, Edgar, was crowned at Bath in 972, must have been over seventy years of age.

It appears from a paper by Mr. W. M. Wylie, read in 1854 before the Society of Antiquaries,¹ that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was a common practice to deposit leaden crosses in tombs in the north of France, with inscriptions on them, some of which contained forms of absolution, with the name of the deceased specified. Thus, in 1142, Heloisa obtained from the Abbot of Cluny a writing to be placed on the body of Abelard to this effect:—

“Ego, Petrus Cluniacensis Abbas, qui Petrum Abelardum in monachum Cluniacensem recepi, et corpus ejus furtim delatum Heloissae Abbatisae et monialibus Paracliti concessi, auctoritate omnipotentis Dei et omnium Sanctorum absolve eum pro officio ab omnibus peccatis suis.”—(Mabillon, *Ann. S. Ben.* To. vi., p. 356).

In the case of Abelard, it was doubtless a wise precaution to deposit in his tomb an authentic proof of his having died in the communion of the Church. The desire to be on the safe side probably prompted others to obtain similar certificates for their friends. In England, a leaden cross was found, in 1830, in the Cathedral cemetery at Chichester, with an inscription beginning *Absolumus te, Godefride*. This was in the tomb of Godefridus, who, Mr. Wylie says, was “the second Bishop of Chichester, in the days of William the Conqueror.” Another similar cross, with an illegible inscription, was found at Lincoln in the tomb of a priest named Siford. There is no sort of absolution in the inscription on

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv., pp. 298-304.

256 *Saxon Cross found in Bath, 1898.*

this Saxon Cross. It would seem to have been a very old custom to place a leaden plate in the tomb, by which the deceased person could be identified when his body has been dissolved into dust. It was natural to fashion this tablet in the form of a cross, and to inscribe on it pious prayers and aspirations. The last prayers said after a Requiem Mass, when the body is sprinkled with holy water and incensed by the priest, are called "the Absolutions," though no actual absolution is given. The inscriptions having been cast and not engraved, favour the idea that this Cross must have been one of several cast in the same mould, and preserved as memorials of that actually buried with the deceased lady. If this was so, I should be inclined to think that it must be a memorial of Ealfgyva, whose tomb was venerated at Shaftesbury.

Archæological Notes for 1899.

BY JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A.

(Read January 19th, 1900.)

When the rough cast was removed from the front of a seventeenth century dwelling in Temple Street, early in the year, a shaped leaden tablet was discovered. It was coated with many layers of white and yellow wash, but when cleaned was found to represent the "Arms of Bristol," and its appearance then proved that it had originally been emblazoned. This plate was made of cast metal, and had evidently been issued by one of the early Fire Insurance Companies,¹ probably about 1725. The figures, "832," stamped on a wide flange beneath the arms, apparently indicated the number of the policy.

In March last I was fortunate in finding further specimens of neolithic flints on West Hill,² in the Parish of Weston-in-Gordano. There was undoubtedly a settlement of these early tribes in the neighbourhood, and possibly more extensive traces may one day come to light.

At a meeting of the Bristol Town Council, held on the 9th May,³ the City Estate Surveyor, Mr. Addie, reported as follows with regard to the "Cat and Wheel," Castle Green, a property belonging to the Corporation. He said "the building could not be advantageously let in its present condition, and it ought to be disposed of, by way of lease for seventy-five years, in consideration of the best rent that

¹ Latimer's *Annals of Bristol in the 18th Century*, p. 54.

² *Proceedings of the Club*, vol. iv, p. 160.

³ *Times and Mirror*, May 8th and 10th.

could be obtained, and of an agreement on the part of the lessee to *rebuild the premises*."

This course was somewhat expected, as it had been known for a long time past that the interesting old tavern was in a very dilapidated state—it is now understood that the Streets Improvement Committee is desirous of shaving off the corner. Mr. Hudd and the writer had previously inspected the property with the object of considering the feasibility of saving the old timbered and gabled front and incorporating it in the prospective new building; but after careful consideration that plan was hardly thought desirable. The matter was also placed before the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, whose Secretary, Mr. Thackeray Turner, wrote as follows:—"If the building cannot be retained the Committee thinks any attempt to reproduce it would be disappointing and misleading."

Apart from the frontage, no features of particular interest abound, and as the house is now practically beyond fair and reasonable repair, there is no chance of saving this quaint seventeenth century corner hostelry.¹ It is, however, the intention of the Corporation to preserve the unique carved brackets and figure head, and place them in the City Museum.

On August 17th the important excavations at Caerwent, the Roman Station of Venta Silurum, were commenced, and the work was continued until the middle of October. A preliminary report of the first year's digging appeared in the *Athenæum* of November 18th.

Another Corporation property, the seventeenth century inn known as the "Coopers' Arms,"² King Street (opposite Coopers' Hall), an interesting house, with overhanging rooms supported by massive carved oak brackets, met its doom in

¹ A curious old print entitled "The Cat and Wheel Public House, Bristol, 1824," engraved by D.H., is very occasionally to be met with.

² No illustration of this inn appears to exist! How necessary it is that the Club should arrange for all ancient examples to be photographed without further delay.

August, as the site was leased by an order of the Council in May last. This house possessed no internal work of special architectural merit, and was only interesting on account of its Jacobean external brackets. During the destruction of the old inn, and when excavating for new foundations, several fragments of "slip ware" were found, and some small bowl tobacco pipes bearing the following makers' marks: An anchor, W.C., I.H., K.L., and A.N. ; also a small copper coin of John III. of Namur (circa 1420) ; a Medalet of Admiral Rodney (1718—1792), issued after one of his naval victories—on the reverse, a naval fight within a border ; a Copper Coin of Ulrica Eleanora of Sweden, 1 Ore, 1719, struck over a Goertz Daler.

Early in September the work of pulling down the "Prince of Wales" Inn, at the top of the Pithay, was commenced preparatory to rebuilding by Messrs. Georges. My thanks are due to Mr. Bisdee, one of the Directors, for permission to examine, at pleasure, the whole of the foundations as they were exposed, in order to trace the line of the Norman fortifications on either side of the Pithay slope, and also to ascertain, if possible, the *exact site* of the upper Pithay gate. The house was an eighteenth century erection, very plain in character, but standing on historic ground, immediately above the sixteenth century gabled dwellings, pulled down in 1897, and opposite the handsome gabled mansion¹ which was destroyed in March, 1898.

At the beginning of September, the work in connection with a new block of buildings to be erected by Messrs. J. S. Fry and Sons, Ltd., was commenced. This firm has secured for this purpose, the whole of the houses between the Pithay slope on the S.E. and the Almshouses on St. John's Slope on the N.W., and from between Tower Lane on the S.W. and All Saints' Street, including Wellington Street, on the N.E. The demolition of these old tenements began in real earnest, as is customary with Messrs. Fry ; and as it was known that

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. iv, pp. 53 and 54.

the early Norman Wall ran under these houses, the work was personally watched from the commencement, almost day by day, thanks to the kind permission of Mr. F. R. Fry, and the courtesy of Mr. Dowling, clerk of the works. The Norman foundations extended from the Blind Gate¹ in John Street to the Pithay, and about 250 feet of the wall was exposed and demolished up to the end of December. The average thickness of the wall was six feet: it was built of local fire stone and rested upon a splendid foundation of red marl. The mortar was characteristically Norman and of marvellous strength, for in demolishing the masonry the stones generally broke in pieces before the mortar gave way. After the site is entirely cleared the subject will be more fully described.

With the exception of one small fragment of pottery, nothing has been found *built into* the Norman masonry, and no contemporary coin has yet been discovered. As the seventeenth and eighteenth century houses, now pulled down, upon the line of the wall, are probably the second erections that have stood there, no relics of a very early date were expected, but the following items of interest may here be recorded; they were mostly found in and about the foundations:—

SUMMARY OF FINDS.

Bristol Farthings, Circular. Dates, 1652, 1660, 1662, 1670.

Including a specimen of 1662, with the name of the City spelt BRISTOL (one L), on both sides.

Traders' Token; *obv.* John Byrtt In—A Merchant's Mark.

rev. Shipton-Mallett—^{B.}_{I.M.} 1665.

Charles II. Farthing, 1672. This is the date of the earliest regal copper currency. The figure of Britannia first occurs on this issue of copper coins.²

¹ Seyer's *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. i, p. 267; Taylor's *Book about Bristol*, p. 176.

² Montagu (H.), *Copper, Tin and Bronze Coinage of England* (1885), p. 22.

Copper Token or Medalet, washed with tin.

obv. Bust of Pitt, around, THE RESTORER OF COMMERCE,
1766: NO STAMPS, in the exergue.

rev. A ship in full sail, around, THANKS TO THE FRIENDS
OF LIBERTY AND TRADE: AMERICA, in the field.¹

This piece is considered to have been struck at Bristol, and is undoubtedly very rare. It does not appear to have been noted before.

George III. Farthing, 1773. In fine condition.

Halfpenny Token, Birmingham Mining and Copper Company, 1791.

Louis XIII. Double Tournois, 1615.

Numerous Fragments of Slip-decorated Pottery ; seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Tobacco Pipes, with small bowls, bearing the following marks, P.E., R.N., and R.T.

During the late summer and autumn months, extensive trenching operations took place between Westbury-on-Trym and the river Avon at Sea Mills for the new sewer.

This necessitated the opening up of the road between Sea Mills Farm and the Railway Station; and, as it was expected, the deep trenches near the line cut through several Romano-British rubbish heaps. The writer paid many visits to the spot at the time, and when watching the work on one occasion a "third brass" of Allectus, in perfect condition, came to light; three or four various coins have also been found by other collectors. Besides these, many fragments of pottery—nearly a dozen pieces bearing potters' marks—have been rescued, and a few other interesting items, as described in the following list.

The pits, which were cut through, existed at a spot about 100 yards from the gates of the railway line, in the direction of the farm house, whilst some of the pottery was found on the river side of the line itself. These chance excavations, at this Romano-British Station, conclusively show the desira-

¹ Green's *Short History of the English People*, 1878 Ed., p. 748.
Latimer's *Annals of Bristol in the 18th Century*, p. 370.

bility of careful and systematic exploration by the Club, in the near future.¹

SUMMARY OF FINDS.

COINS :—

ROMAN-REPUBLICAN Denarius. Circa B.C. 110. It bears no moneyer's name.

AVGVSTVS. B.C. 27—A.D. 14. Second brass, too much worn for identification.

TRAIAN. A.D. 98-117. Second brass, also much worn.

ALLECTVS. A.D. 293-296. Third brass, *obv.* IMP. C. ALLECTVS

P.F. AVG. *rev.* VIRTVS AVG. Four rowers in a galley.

In exergue—Q.L. In fine condition.

Several other pieces, worn and illegible.

POTTERY :—

About sixty fragments of Samian, including examples bearing the following potters' names :—

OF. ATRI	(P)ATRICI
IVNIV(S)	SABIN(VS)
OF. MURRA	(V)ICTOR FEC.
OF. NGRI.	

and several pieces shewing repairs by lead rivets.

Three handles of Amphoræ, including two marks :—

ROM.	L. VETTL OPT.
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Many fragments of Upchurch and Salopian, including several pieces with interesting ornamentation.

A bronze clasp or ornament for harness.

A small bronze crescent-shape ornament for harness.

A spindle whorl.

Two coloured glass beads and some other trifling relics.

But the most interesting find of the year, locally, is that of a Roman villa at Brislington.² The first traces of it were discovered on December 21st, by some workmen engaged in cutting a new road across the field situated at the corner

¹ See *Transactions*, vol. i, pp. 60-66.

² *Times and Mirror*, December 28th.

of Wick lane and the main Bath road, exactly opposite Eagle house.

Tesseræ and foundations of walls have already been found, and several ridge tiles and two or three lengths of channeling for water drains; and the following coins were turned up on the day of the discovery:—

Constantine the Great (306—337) Æ^s ; in beautiful condition; *rev.* BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. S.TR in exergue.

Constans (337—350) Æ^s ; *rev.* FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO,
and on December 30th,

Constantius (350—361) Æ^s ; *rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS. TR. P
in exergue.

which indicates that the villa was probably erected early in the fourth century.

Arrangements have been made for a systematic excavation to be carried out by several members of this Club, to whom permission has been granted by the directors of the company owning the land. A full account of the work will be contributed to the *Proceedings* of this Club.

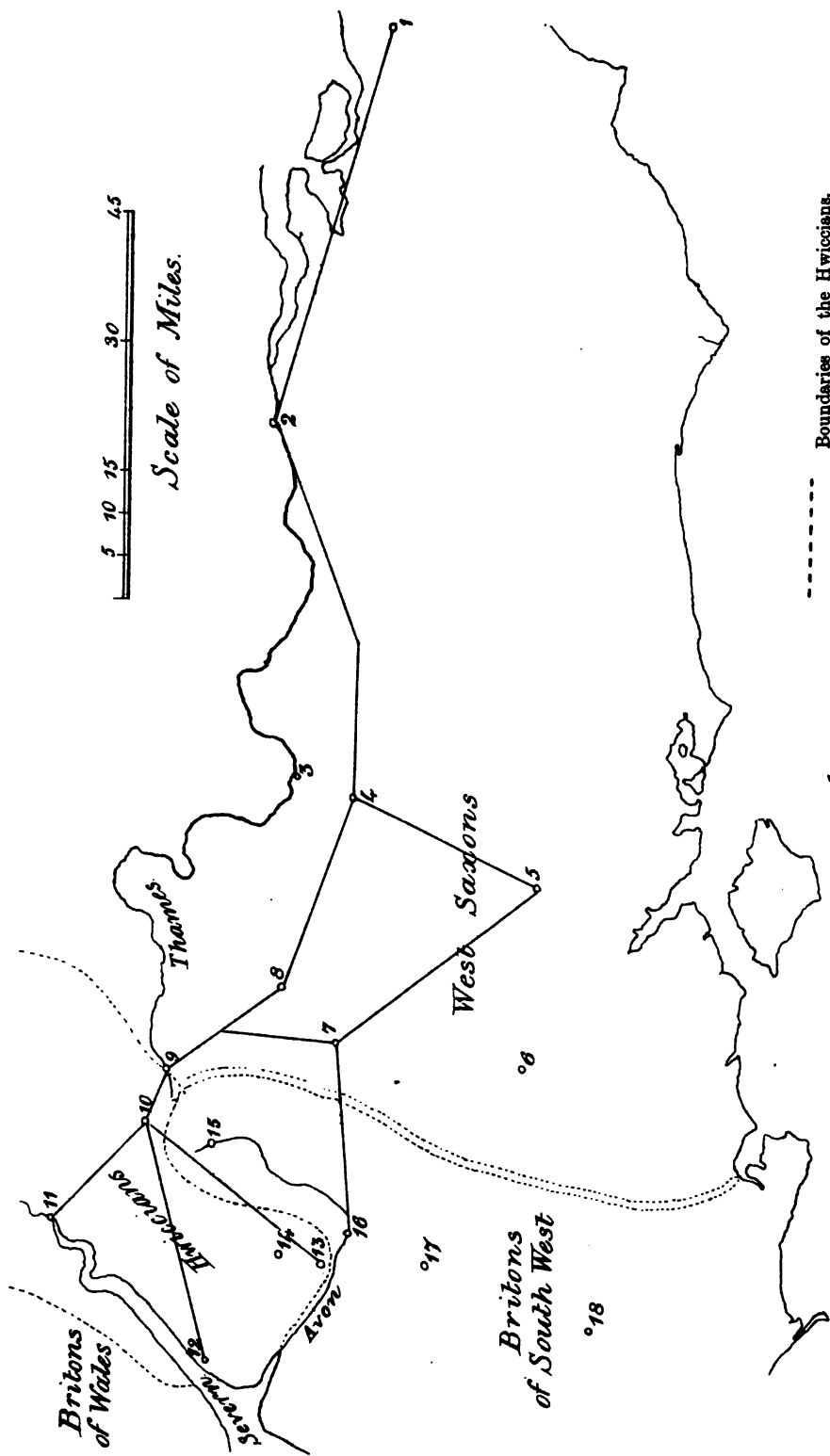
Some results of the Battles of Deorham and Wanborough.

BY THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL,
D.D., F.S.A., PRESIDENT.

(Read January 19th, 1900.)

The battle of Deorham was fought 577 A.D., and the battle of Wanborough, to which on this occasion I refer, in 591. The later battle of Wanborough was in 717, when Ceolred of Mercia was defeated by Ine of Wessex.

In 577, the West Saxons had taken Silchester; had secured the district of the four towns, Aylesbury, etc., and had pushed on westwards, on the north side of the Thames, towards Cirencester. The great forest, Selwood, prevented any movement on their part further south; it included Malmesbury and Bradford-on-Avon, and ran down from the neighbourhood of the head waters of the Thames to the south coast. They did not pierce this barrier till seventy-five years after the battle of Deorham. On the present occasion, in 577, they were compelled to keep to the north of it, and then, leaving Cirencester on their right, probably as too strong for their attack—for only York, London, and Colchester were more important cities than it—they turned to the southwest, keeping the open country, and met the three British Kings at Deorham, our Dyrham. The defeat of the Britons threw the three cities of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath into the hands of Ceawlin. His West Saxons speedily overran the territory which we call Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, and pushed southwards, it is thought, as far as the marshes of Glastonbury.



- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. CANTERBURY | 7. MARLBOROUGH | 13. BATH |
| 2. LONDON | 8. WAREBOURGH | 14. DEORHAM |
| 3. READING | 9. CRICKLADE | 15. MALMESBURY |
| 4. SILCHESTER | 10. CIRENCESTER | 16. BRADFORD |
| 5. WINCHESTER | 11. GLOUCESTER | 17. FROME |
| 6. SARUM | 12. AUST | 18. SHERBORNE |

Whether Ceawlin's forces could have penetrated into the northern part of the forest round whose limits in the neighbourhood of Malmesbury they had passed on the way to Deorham, we cannot say. They did not make the attempt. His successes along the upper Severn led him on further and further northwards, till at last he was terribly beaten by the Britons at Fethanleag in 584, after wrecking Uriconium. He then appears to have fallen back upon Wessex proper, one section of his people, the Hwiccas, holding the newly-conquered territory on the Severn. After a few years of comparative isolation, these Hwiccas, under Ceawlin's nephew Ceol, son of his brother Cutha slain at Fethanleag, made an alliance with the Britons and marched southwards to attack Ceawlin, by this time an object of universal hatred. They crossed the river Thames by the one well-known passage in those parts, which practically everyone used on such occasions, the ford or bridge at Cricklade. Cricklade commanded the passage of the higher waters of the Thames, on the road running south-east from Gloucester by Cirencester and Cricklade, to Marlborough and Winchester if one followed the western division of the road, to Wanborough and towards Silchester by taking the other branch. They took the latter course, and defeated Ceawlin with great slaughter at Woden's Barrow, our Wanborough. He died about two years later, in 593, having lost his kingdom at the time of his defeat. Ceol became king of the whole of the West Saxons, and after him his brother Ceolwulf. This was only four years before Augustine came to Kent, and six or seven years before his interview with the Britons, of which I wish now to speak. That interview was made possible by the alliance between the Hwiccas and the Britons, and who these Britons were is a question of primary importance.

We must bear in mind that all through this period, and for half a century later still, a strong wedge of forest territory occupied by Britons formed the western boundary of Wessex proper. The West Saxons had a way round the

northern extremity of this wedge, where the Hwiccas were situated, but the Britons were safe in the fastnesses of their impenetrable forest. Behind them, to the west and south-west, other Britons occupied the land, as yet undisturbed. The south-west province of the Britons was still solid.

I suggest that the Britons who invaded Wessex along with Ceol's Hwiccian troops were the Britons of this northern part of the forest wedge, not the Britons whom we call Welsh. The Hwiccian forces must have skirted the territory of these nearer Britons at a very short distance from their frontier. The remains of Braden Forest are clearly distinguishable, even after all the changes that have passed over the land. There is a great expanse of open ground between the churches of Purton, Leigh, Minety, Garsdon, and Brinkworth, still known by its old name of Braden Forest, about thirty-two square miles in area. The western extremity of this modern area is about three miles east of Malmesbury, and its eastern extremity is within three or four miles of the Ermine Way, by which the Hwiccas went to Wanborough. Whether these were the Britons in question or not does not really matter for the theory I am to develop, though it has its bearing upon it; it is enough to have called attention to their existence at this date (591), and their permanence in force for sixty years more. The wedge was about sixteen miles broad at the part where Malmesbury stands, from Stratton on the Ermine Way to Easton Grey on the Fosse Way. As late as the time of Charles I., Braden Forest, or the Forest of Selwood, extended to Cricklade, running unbroken thence to Bath.

Again, we overlook a very important fact in this connection, in which I am specially interested, and to which I have given some attention. It is the fact, that in Augustine's time, and for many years after his time, Malmesbury was a great centre of British force and British Christianity. It is not necessary to labour this. Malmesbury in its forest fastness, on the head waters of the Avon, was one of three principal castella of the Britons; another being Lacock, still

on the Avon, and in the thick of the forest. Leland read of an early religious settlement at Malmesbury, a house of nuns established by Dinooth of Bangor. The Irish-Scot Maildubh settled here because it was undisturbed, unlike any other non-Saxon part which he could find. Here he set up his school and built his little basilica, and here, when at last the Saxons got possession, Aldhelm was his pupil and successor.

We can now turn to the consideration of the place at which the conference between Augustine and the Britons was held. That the second conference was held at the same place is not, so far as I can see, stated in any original authority.

In the *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, vol. iv., p. 43, there is a valuable paper by the Rev. C. S. Taylor, Vicar of Banwell, on "Aust and St. Austin." The paper was read on 28th September, 1897, and it maintains the identity of Aust with the place of meeting of Augustine and the Britons. It happens that in January, 1895, long before I imagined that I should ever have anything to do with the Diocese of Bristol, I delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral four lectures on "Augustine and his Companions," which were published under that name by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in the spring of that year. In one of those lectures (iii. pages 96-100) I maintained that Cricklade, on the upper waters of the Thames, was the place of meeting, not being aware that Cricklade, like Aust, was in the Diocese of Bristol. The Clifton Antiquarian Club having done me the honour of electing me their President, I not unnaturally took this question as the subject of my presidential address. In the lecture to which I refer, I overlooked the most conclusive point in my favour, being at that time ignorant of the early circumstances of Malmesbury.

Aust is in itself a very interesting place, and both place and name are undoubtedly ancient. Mr. Taylor quotes the earliest charter in which the name appears, a grant of lands about the year 691 to the Bishop of Worcester, the grant

including "the place called by an ancient name Henbury, and land in another place at Austin." A second charter in 794, confirms to the see of Worcester "land at Austan." In 929, Athelstan granted to the Church of St. Mary, at Worcester, a portion of land "in the place which is called by the natives at Austan." These grants refer without doubt to the place we know so well as Aust. In Domesday its name is given as Austreclive, which may have been a misunderstanding by the inquisitors of the local pronunciation of Austanclif. The cliff at Aust is a very remarkable feature to this day. The ferry across the Severn, which has from early times so often played an important part in history, now known as the Old Passage, started from a point a little south of the cliff.

This is abundant evidence of the antiquity of the place and name; but the evidence has in itself nothing to do with Augustine; there is no reference to him or his oak, in any document relating to Aust with which I am acquainted.

The Welsh tradition places the meeting on the west side of the Severn, in the forest of Dean. If that is to be taken as authentic, it dispossesses Aust. It is probably in this connection that Mr. Taylor rejects the derivation of Aust from *Trajectus Augusti*, and believes that if there is to be a latin derivation of the name from the well-known ferry, it must have been from *Trajectus Augustini*, not *Trajectus Augusti*. We may, I think, dismiss the idea that the Hwiccas who occupied the territory created the latin name *Trajectus Augustini* in honour of Augustine's taking boat at that point to cross over to another part of their territory, the forest of Dean. If the famous ferry bore—as it probably did bear—the name from which Aust is derived, the name was given in the time of the Roman occupation, and the Aust ferry is the *Trajectus Augusti*. In any case, the Welsh tradition proves too much. It takes the place of meeting away from Aust, and leaves to Aust only the credit of being a place on the road traversed by Augustine between Canterbury and the forest of Dean.

Aust and its neighbourhood have by no means a monopoly of tradition or early guesses in their favour. Several other sites have been suggested. Bishop Burgess of St. David's, who devoted so much time a hundred years ago to the records of the Early British Church, placed the conference in Worcestershire.

The only real knowledge we possess of the name of the place of meeting comes from Bede. He says, writing about 730, that it was at a place still called, at the time at which he wrote, *Augustinaes ac*, the oak of Augustine. Clearly the charter of 691, forty years before Bede, drafted by someone who knew the locality well and went out of his way to note that Heanburg was an ancient word, a remarkable indication of his being interested in names and archæology, should have given the name as *Augustinæ ac*, and not "Austin," if it really was the place reported to Bede as locally called Augustine's oak. I am not aware that the site of Augustine's oak is pointed out at Aust, or that there is anything worth calling a tradition which connects the two names. The fact that the name "Augustine's Oak" was given to the site is an evidence that it was not up to that time a place of sufficient importance to have a name.

Bede adds—and this is the one really important fact of this part of his statement, failing any substantial identification of the place called Augustine's Oak—that the place of meeting was *in confinio Huicciorum et Occidentalium Saxonum*, "on the border between the Hwiccas and the West Saxons." If by this Bede meant that the place was on the border line as it existed at the time of the meeting, Aust is entirely out of the question, for the territory of the West Saxons—as distinguished from the Hwiccas—came nowhere near Aust. It was not till about 658 that the West Saxons got fairly through Braden Forest and Selwood, and established themselves on the south of the estuary of the Bristol Avon. In Bede's time that part of the Avon was the southernmost border between the Hwiccas and the West Saxons, a natural boundary of such magnitude as very completely to

cut off the one territory from the other. Long before Bede's time the Hwiccian territory had become Mercian, and had completely ceased to be politically connected with Wessex. This was in all probability the result of the defeat of the West Saxons at Cirencester, by Penda, the Mercian King, in 628.

The only hope for Aust, then, is to hold that Bede was speaking of the border as it was in his time. But, first of all, there was in that case no point in mentioning the fact of the border line, whereas in Augustine's time the fact was of predominant importance, inasmuch as the Britons could safely go wherever the Hwiccian territory extended, but could not with safety enter on the territory of their deadly enemies the West Saxons. And, next, Aust is a good many miles, eight or ten I think, from the nearest point of the border line in Bede's time, namely, the mouth of the Avon; and why Bede's informants should mention nearness of the border line, when in fact of all the long drawn out border between Gloucestershire on the one side, and Wilts and Somerset on the other, they meant only the extreme point where the border died away in the Bristol Channel, it is difficult to imagine. There might be something in the suggestion if the actual boundary was an imaginary line, or physically of an unimportant character, so that there was free coming and going across a kind of neutral territory. No one who knows the neighbourhood will admit any such idea as that. Bede tells us very clearly how and where he got his information with respect to the early ecclesiastical history of the several parts of the Heptarchy. He was not writing vaguely in far Northumbria on his own account about places of which he knew nothing. He did not know the neighbourhood; but he used, with his wonted care and accuracy, precise information sent to him by those who were best qualified to report to him the facts.

If we are to take Bede to refer to Aust, we are obliged to postulate a loose translation of *in confinio*. It is an unnecessary postulate, for the history and the politics and

the geography of the time all point definitely to a literal and natural rendering of the words, "on the border." And, strange to say, the very sentence of Bede which contains the words contains also a statement of the highest importance, which at once excludes Aust, and leaves us to choose between Cricklade, at the northern point of the border, and some great outlying oak between Silbury Hill and Lacock Abbey further south. The statement so curiously overlooked—by myself and other writers on the subject—is quite definite. Augustine invited the bishops or doctors *of the nearest province of the Britons*. To this fact I find not the faintest reference in the note on the place of conference in *Haddan and Stubbs*, vol. iii., pp. 40-41. The nearest province of the Britons was certainly not that which lay far off, west of the Severn. The eastern boundary of the province of the Britons of the south-west, who occupied our Somersetshire and the western parts of Wilts, came thirty miles nearer to Canterbury than the nearest scrap of boundary of the Britons whom we now call Welsh. The one place in England or Wales of which it is true that it (1) was on the border between the West Saxons and the Hwiccas, and (2) was also the easternmost point which the Britons of the British province nearest to Canterbury could reach without entering upon the territory of the hated West Saxons, and (3) was also on the great road by which Augustine was bound to come on his journey westward, is the northern end of the bridge or ford of the Thames at Cricklade. The importance of this position is, no doubt, the cause of the very curious diversion of the boundary of Wiltshire at that point. A remarkable wedge of territory runs up into Gloucestershire, containing the Wiltshire parish of Latton, and enclosing three or four miles of the main road, the Ermine Way, north of the bridge at Cricklade. No doubt the West Saxons were determined to have complete command of both sides of the Thames at their one most vulnerable point.

We have got into the way of supposing that "Britons," in the time of which we are speaking, must of course mean

what we now call Welsh, that is, the Britons in Wales. It is a very unhistorical supposition. When Aldhelm, in Bede's life time, addressed the Britons, he addressed the Britons of the south-west of our modern England, the very Britons who still occupied considerable parts of that "nearest province of the Britons," whose ecclesiastics Augustine invited to a conference. It was probably not till the first conference had taken place that the Britons of the further or west-central province were called into council by the Britons of the south-west. The Welsh Britons are not referred to in connection with the first of the two conferences, and the reference to them in connection with the second conference seems to me to suggest that they were only then called in. The Britons at the first conference pleaded that they must not come to terms with Augustine without the special licence and consent of their people, and they begged for a second conference at which more might be present. Accordingly, there came seven British bishops and a large number of most learned men, chiefly from that very noble monastery called by the English Bancornaburg, Bangor in Flintshire. My impression is clearly that these had not been present on the former occasion, and that the great point of the second conference was that the Britons of the south-west called in the help and counsel of the Britons of the west, whom we call the Welsh. This is emphasised by the fact that this new body did not know what manner of man Augustine was, and the advice given to them was that they should watch him, to see if he was haughty to them; whereas it is certain that those who were present at the first interview had taken his measure and formed an estimate of his character.

I may add that at Down Ampney, two miles from Cricklade, just on the Hwiccian side of the boundary, there is a farm called the Oak Farm. Lord St. Germain's informs me that it bears that name in his papers as far as they go back, but that is not very far; it was Hungerford property in earlier times. A great oak, from which it is supposed to have taken its name, was cut down by the steward in the

time of the grandfather of the present owner, whom the destruction of the ancient tree greatly annoyed. Mr. Martin Gibbs, who gave me the first information I received about the Oak Farm, has found the roots of the old tree in the stack-yard. It may well be that oaks have been famous here since long before Augustine's time, and that under one of the predecessors of this particular tree Augustine sat where now the Oak Farm is. It is an interesting fact that only two fields off the old oak of the Oak Farm there was a spring of water famous for its property of healing diseases of the eyes; there may well be some connection between this traditional efficacy and the story related by Bede that Augustine gave sight to a blind man at the first conference, in proof of his mission and power. The spring has long been dry, owing to drainage operations fifty years ago, but the old people can still point it out; they call it the "lertle well," and the field they call the "lertle nook ground." My early familiarity with Yorkshire dialect suggests that "lertle" means "little." Other water in this neighbourhood is still used for bathing weak eyes; there is one such spring in Fairford parish, and another at Hannington. It is tempting to suggest that in the epithet "lertle" we have an exceedingly old Saxon word, the origin of the word "little," meaning tricky, deceitful. It will be a very curious result of these investigations if it turns out that from the trick performed for the astonishment of the Britons, a trick well known to the Saxons on the spot at the time, the well near to Augustine's Oak has ever since been called "the well of deceit." It is quite probable that Augustine was himself deceived by the Saxon blind man, and used in all good faith the water famous in the neighbourhood for its efficacy in diseases of the eye, not explaining to the Britons the reputation of the well. It should also be noted that at the cross roads where the direct road from Cricklade to Malmesbury is cut by the road due south from Cirencester, there is the Gospel Oak Farm, named from a famous oak which perished long before the memory of the oldest men, under which, as

tradition still tells, "some people met in ancient times." It is about three miles from Cricklade and eight from Malmesbury, a very likely place for the second conference, the British doctors having assembled at Malmesbury in response to the call for larger numbers.

I find that modern opinion is moving rather markedly in favour of the view I have presented. Mr. J. R. Green, in his *Making of England*, p. 224, note, says that for the place of conference we must look "to some such place as the later Malmesbury, near to this border (between the Hwiccas and West Saxons), yet still British ground." Mr. Plummer, in his admirable edition of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (Book ii., chapter ii.), published in 1896, points out the importance of the phrase "the nearest province of the Britons," as suggesting that the Britons of the south-west may have been those who were invited to the first conference. Further, he quotes from a letter sent to him by Mr. Moberly, making the suggestion that the spot called "The Oak," in Down Ampney, near Cricklade, may have been the place of the interview, and mentioning a spring close by, still thought to be curative of weak eyes. I am informed that Mr. Hutton, in a recent Primer, names Down Ampney as the probable place of the interview. Mr. Willis Bund, in his very interesting *Celtic Church of Wales*, calls attention to the words of Bede *proximæ provinciæ*, "of the nearest province"; but as he had only Wales in his mind, he makes it relate to South Wales as compared with North Wales. He quotes Bede as saying *maximæ et proximæ provinciæ*, for which reading I do not find any authority.

It should be mentioned that there are very fine oaks near Oldown, where the old pack-way to Aust Ferry leaves the high ground and descends to the vale of the Severn, a noble view of which is obtained from Oldown. But I can not learn that any place thereabouts takes its name from an oak tree. There are still to be seen on Oldown some remains of an immense oak, but there does not seem to be any local tradition about it. It has two wells near it, the only wells in those parts.

The plan facing page 265 of the country and the places referred to in this paper will, I hope, be found useful. I fear that I have not in all cases observed the exact distance between one place and another, but it is sufficiently accurate for a rough plan. Augustine went, no doubt, from Canterbury (1) to London (2), and thence to the ruined Silchester (4). From that point, a glance at the plan shews that if he went to Marlborough (7) and thence west to Aust, he must penetrate the great forest at its densest part, under the guidance of the West Saxon enemies of the jealously guarded barrier. This seems to me on political grounds impossible. And if he did take that course, it obviously took him into the heart of the "nearest province of the Britons," and there he could have held his conference conveniently, without the labour of pushing on to Aust in search of the inhabitants of a much more distant province of the Britons.

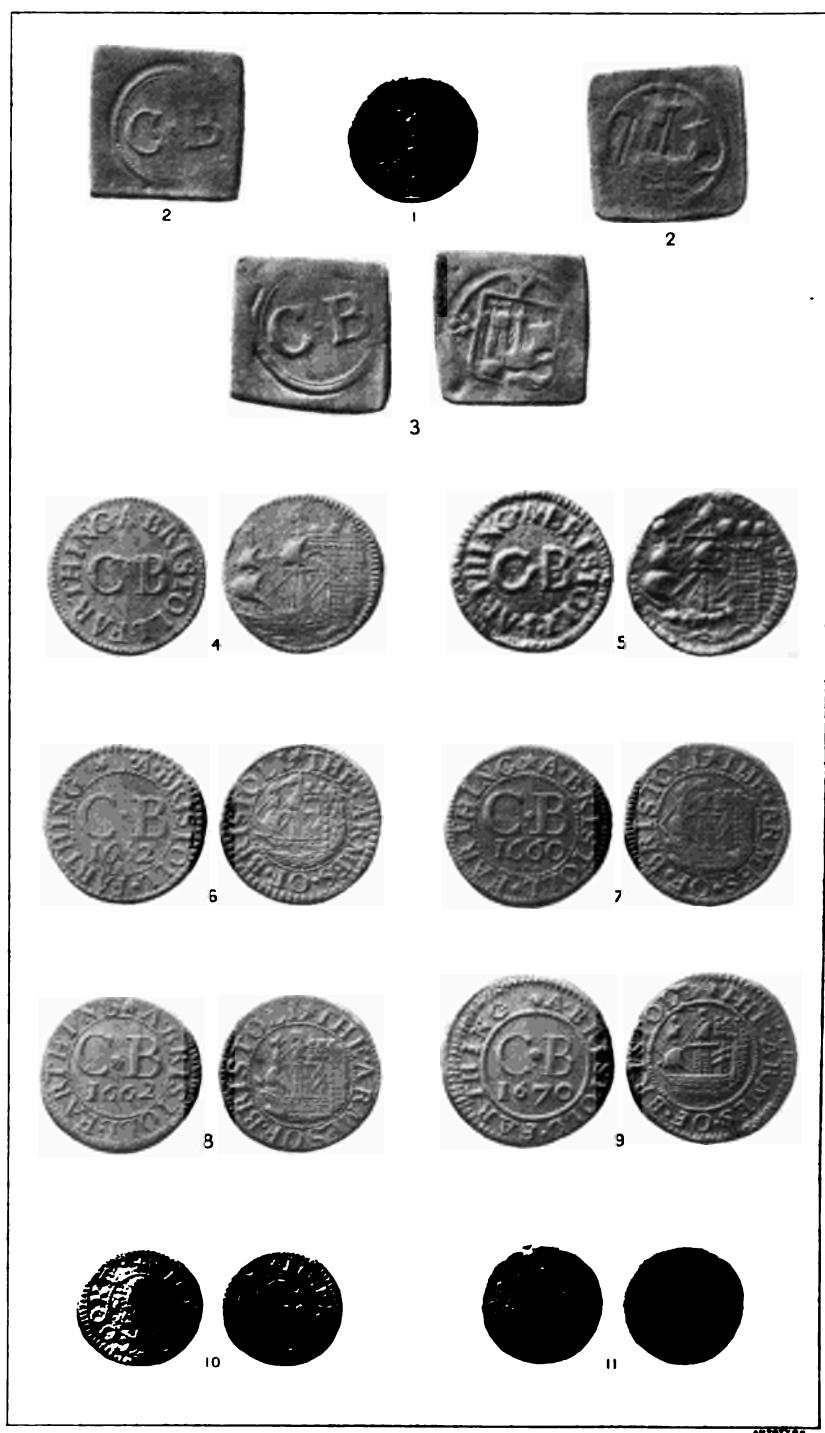
Every consideration, which occurs to my mind, points to his proceeding from the neighbourhood of Silchester by the Ermine Way till he came to the borders of the Hwiccas, the people in alliance with their British neighbours, at Cricklade (9). Even if Augustine proceeded from London by the route which the West Saxons had made for themselves at their first invasion, north of the Thames, he would come to the Hwiccian border in the now pleasant plains of the Thames about Kemsford and Down Ampney and Cricklade (9), and would see the impenetrable British forests frowning upon him from the higher ground on the south-west. Either of these two courses would bring him to the head waters of the Thames, where first he would reach the borders between the Hwiccas and the West Saxons, and, where first he would be in touch with the inhabitants of the nearest province of the Britons, close to one of their most famous centres of military and ecclesiastical strength, the British Castellum called from Aldhelm's time and name Malmesbury.

Why Augustine should go through the labour of pushing past this ideal place for his conference with the nearest Britons, and make his way to Aust (12), which was not on

276 *Battles of Deorham and Wanborough.*

the Hwiccian border at all, to meet Britons who were not inhabitants of the nearest province of the Britons, I must leave others to show. There was a local Roman road from Bath (13) to the Severn; but it is so uncertain where it struck the banks of the Severn that I have not marked it on the plan.

When the Welsh Britons came to the second conference, most of them from Bangor (not episcopal Bangor), I have little doubt that they did not come by Aust. They would more probably come down the Severn till they reached the friendly country of the Hwiccas, and so by Gloucester (11) to Cirencester (10). Only the most southerly would come through the later Monmouthshire and so to the *Trajectus Augusti*.



BRISTOL TOKENS
OF THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES.
PLATE XX.

Bristol Tokens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,

With Special Reference to the Square Farthings.

BY JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A.

To the ancient city of Bristol belongs the honour of having received from Queen Elizabeth, towards the end of the sixteenth century, the privilege to issue FARTHING TOKENS "which were made of copper, with a ship on one side; and C.B. on the other, signifying *Civitas Bristoll*. They went current in that city, and ten miles about, for small things."¹

This provincial currency, in reality the *earliest copper coinage* of England, consisted of square or diamond-shaped farthings, and they are unknown to many collectors.

They were struck for the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Bristol, by licence from the Queen, upon the failure of the Privy Council to secure a small copper currency, which had been so frequently demanded by the people of that period, and, doubtless, were authorised in consequence of a large and illegal issue of private tokens.

It was, of course, due to the great increase in population and the necessity of small purchases that private traders, had for some time previously, been issuing these pieces; solely in order to carry on their businesses, so great was the demand for change.

This circulation was evidently an annoyance to the citizens, as many of the holders failed to get back full value upon realization.

¹ Ruding (Rev. R.) *Annals of the Coinage*, 1840, vol. i., p. 348.

Ruding, in his *Annals of the Coinage*, specially refers,¹ under the year 1574, to the excessive circulation of private tokens, issued by the inferior tradesmen of that period, made of lead, tin, latten, and even of leather, which gave much trouble, though he does not name the source of his information. In one of the recently issued volumes of the *Acts of the Privy Council*, however, there are several references to the unofficial coinage of Bristol, and the following extract, dated the 17th November, 1577,² is well worth quoting in extenso:—

“A letter to Mr. Hanham, Recorder of Bristoll, that where their Lordships are geven to understande that ther is a certen smale coyne of copper (whereof they sende him some peeces) latelie stamped at Bristoll, and there not onlie uttered and received from man to man within the Cittie for farthinges, but is also current at that valewe almoste throughe out the Countrey therabout: he is therefore required fourthwith dilligently to examyn by whome the said coyne hathe ben stamped, and by what meanes it is become this (sic) current both within and without the said Cittie, and thereof immediatlie faiethfullie to certefie their Lordships without respecte hadd of personnes whosoever, as he will answer for his default therein to the contrarye.”

The small circular piece now illustrated (plate XX., fig. 1) is considered to be one of the illegal tokens referred to.

It is unfortunate that the recent publications of the *Acts of the Privy Council*, for the period under discussion, throw no light upon the date of the first issue of these authorised farthing tokens; and Ruding—the first numismatist to specially refer to this subject—was unable to state anything definite, for in his great work *Annals of the Coinage*, he says, “I know not the date of this licence,” but—

¹ Rev. R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, 1840, vol. 1, p. 346.

² *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Series, vol. x., 1577—8, p. 92. See also p. 75.

"on the 12th of May, 1594, a letter was sent (by the Privy Council) to the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol, requiring them to call in all the private tokens which had been stamped and uttered by divers persons within that city, without any manner of authority, and which they many times refused to accept again. The Mayor, etc., were required, by authority of that letter, henceforth to restrain them, and, in the names signed to that letter, straightly to charge and require them to change the same for current money, to the value they were first uttered by them; and that none should make the same without license from the Mayor, etc., who were to take especial care that the former abuses were duly reformed.¹

Boyne,² the earliest writer to *illustrate* one of these square farthings, expressed no opinion, but simply quoted from Ruding.

Henfrey³ also alluded to Ruding, but went further, and, referring to two specimens in the British Museum, added, "the date of both is supposed to be about 1600."

Nicholls⁴ copied copiously from both Ruding and Henfrey, and repeated the opinion of the latter writer, that the date was about 1600.

Williamson's⁵ edition of *Boyne's Trade Tokens*, the greatest work yet issued on 17th century pieces, though published so recently, failed to clear up the question now at issue. The Gloucestershire section was undertaken by Sir John Maclean, F.S.A., who had previously written on the subject for the County Archæological Society.⁶

¹ Ruding (Rev. R.) *Annals of the Coinage*, 1840, vol. ii., p. 213.

² Boyne (W.) *Tokens, issued in the 17th Century*, 1858, p. 88.

³ Henfrey (H. W.) *The Bristol Mint*, 1875, pp. 360, 361.

⁴ *Bristol Past and Present*, 1881, vol. i., p. 267.

In connection with the same paragraph, Nicholls records the discovery of a "copper farthing of Elizabeth 1601." The piece he mentions should have been described as an *Irish penny*.

⁵ Williamson's edition of *Boyne's Trade Tokens*, 1889, vol. i., p. 239.

⁶ *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, vol. viii., p. 314.

From these references it will be at once realized that very little information has previously been known.

The square pieces have hitherto been catalogued as "seventeenth century," it having been conjectured they were mostly issued about 1600, though it was thought some were possibly circulated prior to that date. But, in the future, they must be definitely classified as *sixteenth* century, being distinct from all others, and the only ones issued at so early a period; for during a recent examination of the Bristol Corporation Audit Books,¹ extending from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, some interesting entries have come to light, which give us the long-desired information.

The first entry touching upon the subject is that of the 14th January, 1578, and this is of the greatest value, for it notifies the receipt—

"of Mr. Mayor in copper tokens, the sum of £15 to be delivered to the Commons of this City and to be current for farthing tokens and not current elsewhere but within the liberties of this City, according to a warrant procured by Mr. Smythes and Mr. John Cole from Her Majesty's Privy Council."

This then, in the twentieth year of Elizabeth's reign, is, so far as I have been able to trace, the earliest entry which definitely records the first *official* issue of "square" farthings, the earliest Town pieces which were current in that age of great commercial progress, and the forerunner of the undated and afterwards the dated "circular" farthings.

And I wish to emphasise this important fact, that the issue actually took place within two months of the date of the letter² from the Privy Council to the Recorder, with reference to the illegal tokens of which I have already given the text.

¹ By my friend, Mr. John Latimer (author of *Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*), to whom I am indebted for much help.

² 17th November, 1577.

Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. 281

It is of special interest to refer to another minute in the same volume, dated 8th December, 1577, recording the despatch of—

“a letter to the Maiour and Aldermen of Bristoll, concerning the Farthinges of Copper, according to a mynut remayning in the Councell Chest,”

or only five weeks prior to the first issue of those pieces. The 15th July, 1578, notifies the receipt—

“of Mr. Mayor of the hands of Edward Evenet, Goldsmith, 6,000 of farthing Tokens, which amounted to 20s. 10d. per thousand, which Tokens I distributed to the inhabitants and received for them £6 5s. -”;

and, again, on the 28th September following, the same high official received—

“of Edward Evenet £8 15s. - in farthing Tokens, which maketh up the sum of £15 for the which Mr. Mayor hath the Council's letter, with the advice of Mr. Robert Smythes and Mr. John Cole for the stamping thereof”:

but to this latter Corporation entry is appended the very significant note, that “the stamp is delivered to Mr. Mayor again,” which appears to indicate that the local Mint Master was, perhaps, not above suspicion.

These remarkable deliveries make a total of 28,000 issued in the first year of their appearance, a goodly number indeed!

There is no record of any having been stamped in 1579, but in 1580 a like quantity of 28,800, in two stampings, was delivered to the Corporation, the entry of the 7th April stating that there was *great want of them in the town*.

A gap of two years then occurs in the Civic accounts, so possibly the supply lasted until 1583, when yet other consignments amounting to 28,800, at *four* stampings, were received. This appears to have been the full limit allowed in one year, for which a special warrant had to be obtained annually, at a cost of £7.

It is needless to quote further entries as to the supply—

the Audit Books contain many others; but it will be interesting to mention that owing to the continued demand for farthings, and doubtless a belief that very handsome profits¹ could be made, a "loyal citizen, evidently anxious to accommodate" his neighbours with small change, appears to have commenced the private issue of similar pieces; for one Christopher Gallway, a butcher, was fined £5 on the 21st March, 1587, for—

"counterfeiting the Copper Tokens in this City to the great hurt and hindrance of the commons";

and probably other members of the fraternity attempted the same fraudulent practice, and distributed forged pieces largely, for an entry in April, 1587, indicates that—

"the Aldermen, Mayor, and Common Council according to a proclamation paid to divers persons in the City and Country for divers sorts of Copper Tokens received of them because they were counterfeited by divers persons and therefore were not allowed in this City, £13 2s. 11."

These extracts, I think, completely upset the theory advanced that the square leaden token,² dated 1591, purchased by the British Museum in 1880, is an "official" piece, neither could it have been a pattern, as has also been conjectured; it must, therefore, be classed amongst the unauthorised pieces which the Privy Council instructed the Mayor and Aldermen to call in on the 12th May, 1594.³

¹ An entry in the Corporation Audit Book for 1594 shows us the profit made on these Tokens; it ran as follows:—

"Received brass Tokens £40 out of which I paid for procuring a warrant £7, and for the stamp 3s. 4d., for the making of every £1 = 3s., for the stuff of every £1 = 12d., and for so much allowed for the dealing therewith, 12d. on every £1, so that there is gained clear £22 16s. 8d."

² *Num. Chron.*, vol. iv., p. 281, No. 135.

³ Ruding (Rev. R.) *Annals of the Coinage*, 1840, vol. ii., p. 213. Henfrey (H. W.) *The Bristol Mint*, 1875, p. 360.

Several entries in the Audit Books notify payments for "new making the mould," and this possibly explains why some of the specimens represent the Arms of Bristol the reverse way, for carelessness may have taken place in cutting fresh dies; or, on the other hand, some of those in the hands of collectors may be counterfeits, which doubtless were made by inexperienced workmen, and the error may in that way have occurred. But all these and other varieties are most interesting.

It is strange how such large numbers of these square farthings have disappeared, but it may be interesting to note that I have never myself found a single specimen in dry excavations, in the city and district; all that have come to light have turned up from the river or harbour dredgings.

The issue of these Square Farthings probably continued until the year 1613, when the grant was made to Lord Harrington of the sole privilege, for three years, of making farthing tokens, the state papers of May, 1613, giving—

"the reason to prove the necessity for making small copper coins to avoid the great abuse of leaden tokens made by the City of Bristol and others."

It is not surmised that square pieces were ever struck after the circulation of "Harrington's," but I find it stated in the minutes of the Mayor and Aldermen for the year 1651 that as—

"the making of the Square Farthings having of late been omitted, some Shopkeepers took upon them to make and vend small Farthing Tokens for exchange in their trade, which not being allowed to pass generally was found to be inconvenient and of great prejudice to the poor. By consideration whereof the Mayor and Aldermen have set on foot the making of *new brass farthings round and circumscribed Bristol Farthing on the one side, and the Arms of Bristol on the other*, which are allowed to pass within the City, all others being suppressed and unlawful, and to the end that none should suffer loss by them, the Mayor and Aldermen

have proclaimed their general use in the City and therefore undertake to accept them at the rate of 4 for a penny for any quantity."

This extract seems to fix definitely the year 1651 when the undated circular farthings were issued, those coined the year following being dated.

The same minute, 1651, is of still further importance because of its reference to the issue of farthing tokens by shopkeepers, of which only one specimen was known to Mr. Williamson as late as 1889; but I have been fortunate in discovering two fresh types somewhat recently, and Messrs. Spink have recorded another.

It is hardly likely that many varieties of private tokens became current, because of the general issue of the circular farthings above referred to, and as soon as they were officially issued by the City of Bristol, all others were "suppressed and unlawful."

The illustrations are from specimens in the author's collection, and are now reproduced by permission of the Numismatic Society of London, by whom they were specially prepared for the *Numismatic Chronicle*. (Third Series, vol. xix., pp. 350—361.

LIST OF TOKENS OR TOWN PIECES.

SIXTEENTH Century.

1. A small CIRCULAR PIECE, stamped out of thin brass. It bears the arms of the City of Bristol—a ship issuing from a castle—within a beaded circle. The ship to *left*, and the letter B (for Bristol) over the sail. [Pl. XX., 1.]

This is evidently one of the early *unauthorised* tokens referred to by Ruding, under the year 1574, of which no specimen has been previously recorded. It was found during excavations in Bristol, in 1892 or 1893.

The British Museum possesses a circular leaden specimen issued by John Brown, Grocer, Bristol, bearing a date which experts read as 1567; and Mr. F. E. Macfadyen of Darlington,

has a most interesting circular piece as follows:—*Obv.* C.B. in centre, *Anno* over, 1511 under; in three lines. *Rev.* A ship sailing to the right, with the letters C.B. over.

These two, also, are doubtless specimens of the unauthorised tokens.

SQUARE OR DIAMOND-SHAPED FARTHINGS.

(1578—circa 1613).

2. *Obv.*—C.B. (for Civitas Bristol) in large letters, within a circle. No legend.

Rev.—The arms of Bristol—a ship issuing from a castle to the *left*—within a circle. No inscription.

See Boyne's *Tokens* 1858 edition, p. 88, No. 13.

3. *Obv.*—Similar to last.

Rev.—Similar, but with arms reversed—the ship sailing to the *right*. [Pl. XX., 2.]

4. Similar to No. 3, but of smaller size, with the arms and circles also smaller.

This specimen was found in 1897 amongst some dredgings from the Bristol Harbour.

5. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 2.

Rev.—The arms of Bristol upon a shield, within a circle; the ship sailing to the *left*.

The arms of the city here shown are correctly represented, but this type has never yet been noticed.

This specimen was found in 1895 amongst some dredgings from the Bristol Harbour.

6. *Obv.*—Similar to last.

Rev.—Similar, but with the arms reversed; the ship sailing to the *right*. [Pl. XX., 3.]

There are other minor differences in the types of these square farthings, but the specimens could hardly be classified as distinct varieties.

SEVENTEENTH Century.

CIRCULAR FARTHINGS (circa 1651).

7. *Obv.*—C. B. in large letters, surrounded by the words
A BRISTOLL FARTHING within a beaded
circle.

Rev.—The arms of Bristol—a ship issuing from a castle on
the *left*—within a beaded circle. [Pl. XX., 4.]

8. Similar to last, but *cast*, not struck; of very rude work-
manship, and doubtless a forgery of the time.
[Pl. XX., 5.]

This is not mentioned in Williamson's edition.

CIRCULAR (dated).

9. *Obv.*—C. B. in large letters, the date 1652 below, within
a beaded circle, surrounded by the words,
A. BRISTOLL FARTHING, and having an outer
circle; m.m., a star.

Rev.—The arms of Bristol, within a beaded circle, sur-
rounded by the words, THE. ARMES. OF.
BRISTOLL, and an outer circle.

10. Similar to last, but with R below date, the initial of
Rawlins the engraver. [Pl. XX., 6.]
11. Similar to last, but with a single "fleur-de-lis" over
C. B.
12. Similar to No. 9, but the inscriptions read BRISTOL.
13. Similar to No. 10, but *cast*, not struck; doubtless a
forgery of the time.
14. Similar to No. 9, but dated 1660; m.m., a star.
15. Similar to last, but with R under date. [Pl. XX., 7.]
16. Similar to No. 9, but dated 1662; m.m., a cinquefoil.
[Pl. XX., 8.]
17. Similar to last, but with R under date.

Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. 287

- 17A. Similar to last, but the inscriptions read BRISTOL.
Found in the Pithay excavations in 1899.
18. Similar to No. 9, but dated 1670, without engraver's initial; m.m., a cinquefoil. [Pl. XX., 9.]
- 18A. Similar to last; m.m., on *obv.* a rose; on the *rev.* a large rose pierced.
Found in the Pithay excavations, in 1899.
19. Similar to No. 9, but dated 1676.
See Henfrey's *Bristol Mint*, p. 365.
20. Similar to No. 9, but dated 1679.
See Henfrey's *Bristol Mint*, p. 365.

There are many specimens of these Circular Farthings with slight differences in the lettering, position of the ship, and thickness of metal, but they could not correctly be described as distinct varieties.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TOKENS ISSUED BY PRIVATE TRADERS.

21. *Obv.*—THOMAS. RICRAFT. IN. WINE. = A merchant's mark and a sheaf of arrows.

Rev.—STREETE. IN. BRISTOL = T. R.

This is the only private token mentioned in Mr. Williamson's edition. It is illustrated in *Bristol Past and Present*, vol. iii., p. 27.

Thomas Ricraft was a grocer, and was admitted into the liberties of the City, 21st January, 1640-1, "for yt he was ye apprentice of Edward Gerrishe, a freeman of ye same, and he paid . . . iiii. vi."

22. *Obv.*—WILLIAM: COOKE. = A sugar loaf between three cloves, within a small beaded circle.

C

Rev.—IN. BRISTOL = W. M., within a beaded circle.
[Pl. XX., 10.]

Under the date 31st August, 1626, the Burgess' Roll of Bristol records:—"William Cooke, Grocer, was admitted into ye liberties of this Citty, for that he was ye aprentise of William Pinny, and hath p^d iiiii. vi."

This token was dredged up from the Bristol Harbour in April, 1896; it was first notified by me in the *Numismatic Circular*, July, 1896, p. 1775.

23. *Obv.*—IOHN. BRADWAY. AT. THE. = A mermaid.

Rev.—MREMYD. ON. THE. BACKE. = I. B. (cinquefoil between initials). [Pl. XX., 11.]

This token is mentioned by Boyne, 1858 edition (section ii., p. 527, No. 15), amongst those "without names of towns"; but in Mr. Williamson's edition it was omitted, as it could not then be traced. After much research, I claim it as a Bristol piece, based upon the following facts:

My specimen was brought to me from Nailsea, a village situated a few miles from Bristol, where it was dug up in the spring of 1896.

In the Burgess' Roll of Bristol, 12th April, 1636, is this entry: "John Breadewaye, Vintner, ys admitted into the liberties of this Citty for that he was the aprentyse of Wm. Thrupp, he hath pd iiiii. vi."

John Bradway, Vintner, was one of the Sheriffs of the City in 1663.

It is also interesting to note, that when "Sieur de la Boullage" visited Bristol, in 1644, in the course of his travels, he lodged "à la Serene" (at the "Mermaid," on the the back): see Gouz's *Voyages*, Paris, 1653, p. 430.

As to the "Backe," in that priceless Chronicle "The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar," written by Robert Ricart, Town Clerk of Bristol, 18 Edward IV., under the year 1449 is this entry: "This yere the Bakke of Bristowe was repayred, al the egis of it and of the slyppes, with free stone:" and Miss Toulmin Smith, who edited this MS. for the Camden Society, adds the following note: "The back is a river-side street extending along the Avon southwards

from Bristol Bridge. Back is a name of several streets in Bristol, as Augustine's Back, Redcliff Back, St. James' Back, Hollow Back, and appears to mean the street at the back of the water, not to be the word 'beck,' as has been suggested, which would be applied to the water itself, not to the street."¹

In 1655 the "Mermaid" is mentioned in local documents amongst other houses infected by the plague.

In 1674 the "Mermaid" was used as a club-house.

In the earliest *Bristol Directory* (1775) it is mentioned that No. 4, Bristol Back ("The Mermaid") was kept by William Beynon, Mast-maker and Victualler.

24. *Obv.*—JOHN. JENKINS. BRISTOLL. In three lines in script characters.

Rev.—John Jenkins, in monogram.

The Burgess' Roll of Bristol records under 16th March, 1645-6, this entry:—"Ino. Jenkins, Currier, is admitted into the liberties of this Cittie for that hee was ye sonn of Jno. Jenkins, Currier, a freeman of the same, and hath paid . iiii. vi."

This token was first mentioned in the *Numismatic Circular*, vol. i., p. 182, but Messrs. Spink were unable to trace into whose possession it passed. See also vols. ii., p. 698, and v., p. 2027.

It was probably the same specimen that was included in the "Lowsley" sale at Messrs. Sotheby's, in May, 1899, when Mr. Bowles, of Clifton, secured it.

¹ See also *Sieges of Bristol during the Civil War*, 1868, p. 3.

The Choir of Bristol Cathedral.

Appendix.

BY ROBERT HALL WARREN, F.S.A.

Since the paper on the "Choir of Bristol Cathedral"¹ was written, the author has had the opportunity of inspecting a manuscript in the British Museum (Add. MSS., 5811, vol. x.), dated May, 1746, describing the Cathedral and other Churches in this city. It is by the hand of the Rev. W. Cole, a learned antiquary, of whom an account will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The writer prefaces his remarks in an apologetic manner. "Being at y^e Hotwell under St. Vincent's Rock in y^e parish of Clifton ab^t a mile to y^e west of y^e city of Bristol and having a great deal of spare time on my hands between y^e hours of drinking y^e waters, I was used frequently to walk to this Cathedral, where I took all y^e inscriptions & arms in y^e windows & rough drafts of most antient monuments to preserve as far as in me lay y^e decaying ruins of venerable antiquity." "However" (he says) "as the chief part of this work is already performed to my hands by my very worthy friend, that judicious antiquary Browne Willis, Esq., I have only put down those things that have escaped him." In passing he pays a compliment to our citizens. "The citizens of Bristol are the neatest in their churches of any people I know," and he speaks with enthusiasm of St. Stephen's Church "with the tenderest net-work tower I ever saw." Returning to the Cathedral, he describes "y^e altar which is a curious piece of workmanship in stone which reaches no higher than y^e bottom part of E. Window. The middle part

¹ See pp. 220-235.

of it is modern which is railed all round & consists of Corinthian pillars supporting a Pediment. All this of Wainscote. The middle part of this altar piece between the said pillars is crimson velvet wth IHS in gold in y^e midst of it. Above this on y^e Pediment is an emblem of y^e Holy Trinity. Between the two pillars on each side of y^e altar stands a large candlestick with wax candles in them. On each side of this modern altarpiece without the rails against the old altar is artificially painted y^e perspective view of a church. On each side of the spires of the arches under which the said views are depicted, is a coat of arms very large in y^e stone work, viz:—1, Clare. 2, England. 3, England. 4, Berkeley." (The two shields over the present central arch are clearly modern.)

The writer describes thirty-six coats in the East window of choir and seventeen in North and South windows of choir, all heraldically blazoned.

(Mr. Leversage gives only seventeen shields in the East window, and twenty-five in the North and South windows. It is difficult to account for the discrepancy).

"The Arms on y^e Stone pulpit in y^e body of y^e Church ag^t y^e great N. Pillar nearest y^e Organ Loft are—1, Berkeley. 2, Bristol City. 3, Arms of Prince of Wales, viz., a crest of feathers. 4, Arms of K. James I. 5, 3 Crowns in pale (See of Bristol), impaling a cross patonce. 6, One of six quarterings. Under the King's arms, which are in front, is I.H.S. and Alpha & Omega, and round the canopy of the said pulpit is wrote,

For there is no other name under Heaven given unto men whereby we must be saved."—Acts 4, 12.

Gloria in Supremis Deo. in terra pax erga Homines Benevolentia."—Luc. 2, 14.

A.D. 1624.

Opposite y^e Bishop's Throne on the other side of the choir is y^e seat of y^e Chancellor with a neat spiral canopy over it. On the back of it is wrote 'Cancellarius.'"

(This must have been a mistake, as Browne Willis, in his

plan of 1742, describes this stall as that of the Archdeacon of Dorset, and makes no mention of the Chancellor's stall; and Barrett, writing in 1789, confirms the statement. The writer of the MS. must have substituted "Cancellarius" for "Archidiaconus.")

"At the back of the Sub-Dean's stall is wrote Vice Decanus, and over the rest Prebendarius p^m, 2nd, and so on for the six Prebendaries. Colston's Arms, viz, an anchor in pale and 2 Barbels hanging from their mouth from the 2 Barbs of it over the Sub-Dean's stall. The 3 Stalls at y^e west end of the Choir are modern and very handsome. Over the Canopies however is put R.E. in remembrance of Abbat Rob^t Eliot y^e first maker of them. Over the Bishop's throne is wrote in gold letters 'Episcopus,' and by the side of it by the entrance into it are the Arms of Paul Bush, y^e 1st Bp. of this church. The Mayor and Corporation only come May 29, King Chas. Restoration & y^e 5th of November."

He describes the Palace and its Chapel recently fitted up by Bishop Butler, "with a tribune from one of his Lordship's rooms to look into it at the west end." It must have been very small, according to Browne Willis being only 15 ft. long and 11 ft. broad, "Notwithstanding there is in the windows a good deal of painted glass."

Cresset-stones.

 BY ALFRED C. FRYER, PH. D., M.A.

(Read January 19th, 1899.)

The origin of the word cresset has been much disputed. Dr. Murray, in the new Oxford Dictionary, derives it from the old French *craicet*, *craisset*, or *cresset*,¹ a cup of metal, or other material, fastened to a pole, forming a portable lantern, and "cresset-stone," a flat stone with cup-shaped hollows for holding grease to be burnt for light.

There seems to be no evidence at present, that cresset-stones were used except in churches and monasteries. From the *Rites of Durham Abbey* we learn that the church and monastery of Durham possessed three cresset-stones. One was placed in the church and two in the dormitory. These appear to have been large square stones with twelve cups or cavities "wrought" in the top of the block. These cups were filled with tallow and served as lamps "to give light to the monks at midnight when they came to mattens."

Although the cresset-stones at Durham are no longer in existence, yet there are quite a number scattered over the country which once belonged to the larger churches and monasteries. Some of these stones contain as many as seven, twelve, and even sixteen cups, while others have only five, four, three, or two cups. The one that has only two cups may be seen in Romsey Abbey, and it is more portable than any of the others, as it is constructed with a handle on one side of the stone.

¹ *New Dictionary*, vol. ii., p. 1166. I have been unable to find either of these words in Littré or other French dictionaries. Dr. John Ogilvie (*Imperial Dictionary*, i., 469), following Dr. Johnson, gives the derivation from the French *croisette*, "because Beacons formerly had crosses on their tops," but I am not aware of any such examples. Another author derives the word from the old Dutch *kruyse*, a cup, or pot, which seems reasonable. Ed.

The cups are usually arranged in parallel rows or round a central cup. They vary from about 2 inches to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth. The cups are generally hemispherical in form, but some few are flat-bottomed like the cups in the cresset-stone belonging to St. Mary's Abbey, York; and two cups in the stone in Lewanwick Church, Cornwall, and one cup in the stone at Furness Abbey are similarly constructed. The late Rev. T. Lees, M.A., considered that perhaps these flat-bottomed holes instead of burning tallow, may have been used to hold candles, torches, or lamps which formed the portable lights of the church. It was at one time thought that all the cups were for this purpose, but many of them, although long exposed to the weather, still retain fire and soot stains.

The kind of stone from which the cressets were made varies in different localities. In several cases it is the same material from which the Abbey was built; an example of this may be noticed in the Calder cresset-stone, for both the Abbey as well as the cresset-stone are composed of new red sandstone. The one in Carlisle Cathedral is of the same material, while the one at St. Mary's Abbey, York, is constructed out of a block of light yellow limestone. The cresset-stone in St. Mary's Church, Monmouth, is Pennant sandstone, the one at Wool, in Dorset, is Purbeck marble, and the one at Lewanwick, Cornwall, is polished granite.

Many of these cresset-stones have been long exposed to the weather, yet some of them still retain the marks of burning. This may be noticed in the cups in the Calder Abbey stone. The stone in Wool Church shows that the surface of the cups are blackened as if by unctuous matter burnt in them. The bottoms and sides of the cups in the stone in St. Mary's, Monmouth, have dark discolorations as from the action of fire. The cup in the Dearham stone and in those at Romsey Abbey still retain traces of the action of the heat to which they were subjected.

Most of the stones are rectangular in shape, and none of the edges have a bevel except the five-light stone in Furness Abbey. The bevel on this stone is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, and the

central cup is much larger than the other four. The three circular stones are at Lewanwick Church, Llanthony Priory, and at Romsey Abbey. Mr. Harry Hems, of Exeter, was the first to draw attention to the cresset-stone in the church of St. Martin, Lewanwick, in 1879.¹ The cresset-stone stands on a base some 14 inches high, and the total height from the ground is 1 foot 9 inches. The top stone merely stands *in situ* by force of its own weight, and the two are not cemented together. This stone formerly stood in the north aisle of the nave, midway between the west jamb of the north doorway and the first pillar of the nave arcade. The stone at Llanthony is circular, but is considerably smaller than the Lewanwick stone, and only contains three cups. This stone also stands on a short circular base. The third circular stone is in Romsey Abbey, and is in a mutilated condition.

The fine four-light stone at Wool, Dorset, was found in a small chapel on the north side of the chancel of the church. Near Wool are the ruins of Bindon Abbey, and it is not unlikely that the stone originally belonged to this monastery. The mutilated cresset-stone at Carlisle was found in 1880 by the Clerk of the Works, over the chapel of St. Catharine in the south transept of the Cathedral. A year later (1881) a six-light stone, much mutilated, was found in St. Mary's Church, Monmouth, some feet below the present floor. The two interesting cresset-stones at Romsey were found built up into a wall forming part of the Abbey, and had evidently, after being disused, formed part of the building material. The five-light stone at present preserved in St. Mary's Church, Wareham, was discovered a few years ago near the Wareham railway station, when some skeletons were unearthed.

In the bottom of each cup in the cresset-stone of St. Mary's Abbey, York, is a small puncture as if they had been bored with some instrument like a joiner's brace and bits.²

¹ See *Building News*, June 13th, 1879, where an illustration will be found. There is also a description of this stone in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1896, p. 247.

² See *Building News*, April 2nd, 1880.

In one cup of the two-light portable stone at Romsey is also a small hole, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter. It has been badly made, and evidently not by the same careful workman who constructed this stone. The handle at the side projects about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley has drawn our attention to an interesting cresset-stone now preserved in Sudeley Castle. This stone is 15 inches square, and has twelve cups, with diameters from 2 inches to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches and a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 3 inches. The stone is remarkably perfect, and the cups are so arranged that there are three on each side and four in the centre. This cresset-stone was originally found at a farm only a few miles distant from the Abbeyes of Winchcombe and Hayles. The Abbey of Winchcombe was founded by King Kenulph in 798, and in later years was famous for the legend of Kenelm, the murdered son of the founder. The foundation of Hayles (*Sax.*, "Holy") was laid in 1246 by Richard, Earl of Cornwall. This abbey was also a place of pilgrimage, for Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, son of the founder, presented to it a portion of the Blood of the Saviour in 1272. If the cresset-stone came from Winchcombe the date is uncertain, but if it was originally made for Hayles then it might be dated 1251 when the abbey was consecrated in the presence of the King, Queen, barons, 13 bishops, and 300 knights. The cresset-stone at Sudeley Castle has the following paper attached to it:—"These stones were kept in parish churches and were always burning (or were lighted every night) so that the parishioners might get a light in the morning to relight the fire extinguished by the *couvre feu* the evening before." The statement is interesting, but most of the stones that have been discovered appear to have been associated with monastic buildings.

A few years ago Dearham Church was partially rebuilt, and the Rev. W. S. Calverley discovered an ancient Norman corbel,¹ which had been used like the Romney cresset-stones as building rubble. The front consists of a fillet, 1 inch broad,

¹ 19 inches by 10 inches, by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

beneath which is a hollow cyma recta moulding. Three inches from the front edge of the horizontal upper surface is a cresset which still retains traces of burning. This cresset-corbel has only one cup, and may be considered as a connecting link between the stones we have been considering and the single cups found in lamp niches.¹

Several cresset-stones have been found in Sweden. They are rectangular, with the exception of one in the Church of Strö, which is circular and forms the cushion cap of a pillar. Although these stones contain six, five, or four cups, yet some Swedish authorities have called them "Vigvattens-sten." It is far more likely that they were cresset-stones than holy water stoups, for one large basin would be far better for that purpose than a series of cups hollowed out of the same block of stone.

Eighteen years ago the late Rev. T. Lees suggested that our forefathers of the Middle Ages derived their use of hollowed stones for light holders from still earlier times, and he added:—"May it not be that the discovery of the use of cresset-stones is a step (and a long step) towards the elucidation of the purpose to which those cup-marked stones were put, which have formed so long a puzzle to the pre-historic archæologist?"²

It is interesting to note that cresset-stones were in use as late as 1365, for in that year "a cresset with fifteen holes and four lamps" was maintained in the Church of Chalgrove, Oxfordshire.³

¹ Four good examples may be seen in the crypt at Hexham. In the floor of each is a single cresset, and in the roof of each is a conical hollow, probably to catch the soot. This conical hollow is 5 inches in diameter and 5 inches deep. The cups are $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. Examples of these lamp niches may be seen at Westminster and other places. See paper on "Lamp Niches," *Archæological Journal* for 1882.

² *Archæological Journal*, 1882, vol. xxxix., p. 396.

³ *Notes from the Muniments of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, from the twelfth to the seventeenth Century*, by W. D. Macray.

CRESSET-STONES

Where the Cresset-stone is located.	Shape of Cresset-stone.	Length and breadth of Cresset-stone.		Diameter of Cresset-stone.	Thickness Cresset-stone
		In.	In.		In.
Calder Abbey	Rectangular	22½ by 21½		—	4½
Carlisle Cathedral	Rectangular	—		—	—
Lewanwick Church, Cornwall	Circular	—		16	7
Llanthony Priory	Circular	—		12	6
St Mary's Church, Monmouth	Rectangular	18 by 11		—	3½
Furness Abbey	Rectangular	—		—	3½
Furness Abbey	Rectangular	14 by 12		—	5
Romsey Abbey	Circular	—		8½	3
Romsey Abbey	Rectangular	10 by 4½		—	3½
St. Mary's Church, Wareham	Rectangular	9 by 9		—	5½
Wool Church, Dorset	Rectangular	9½ by 7½		—	5
St. Mary's Abbey, York	Rectangular	13 by 6½		—	4½
Sudeley Castle	Rectangular	15 by 15		—	4

IN ENGLAND.

Number of Cups.	Diameter of Cup.	Depth of Cup.	Manner of arranging the Cups in the top of the Cresset-stone.
No.	In.	In.	
16	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{2}{3}$	Four parallel rows of four cups in each row.
6	$4\frac{1}{2}$	3	Much mutilated, but most likely two parallel rows of three cups in each row.
7	3	$3\frac{1}{4}$	One central cup with six cups arranged symmetrically around it.
3	4	2	Three cups arranged symmetrically.
6	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	Two parallel rows of three cups in each row.
3	$8\frac{1}{2}$	2	Much mutilated, but most likely one row of three cups.
5	(2) $8\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{2}{3}$	} One centre cup and one in each of the four corners of the stone.
	(1) $4\frac{1}{2}$	3	
	(2) 3	$2\frac{1}{2}$	
4	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	Much mutilated, it may have been a cluster of four cups or perhaps a larger number.
2	$3\frac{1}{4}$	2	Two cups in one row with handle at the side.
5	(1) $3\frac{1}{2}$	2	} One centre cup and a smaller one in each of the four corners of the stone.
	(4) 2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	
4	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{3}{4}$	One cup in each quarter of the stone.
6	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{2}{3}$	Two parallel rows of three cups in each row.
12	2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$ to 3	So arranged that three cups are on each side and four in the centre.

Proceedings of the Club.

1899.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

JANUARY 19TH, 1899.

W. R. BARKER, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The meeting was held at Clinton House, Pembroke Road, the residence of the Hon. Secretary, and was attended by twenty members. Letters were read from the President (Col. Bramble), who was too unwell to be present, and from other members unable to attend the meeting.

The Hon. Secretary (Mr. Hudd) gave a brief report of the proceedings of the Club during the year 1898; seven meetings had been held, which were well attended. One member (Mr. Samuel Cashmore) had died, and two members, unable to attend the meetings, had retired during the year, creating three vacancies, which had been filled by the election of the Rev. Canon J. G. Tetley, M.A., Mr. Arthur Bulleid, F.S.A., and Dr. Bertram Rogers, all of Clifton.

The Hon. Treasurer (Mr. R. Hall Warren, F.S.A.) reported that the Annual Accounts had been kindly audited by Mr. J. Hudson Smith, and showed that the financial position of the Club was quite satisfactory, all the subscriptions having been paid, and all liabilities discharged; leaving a balance in favour of the Club slightly in excess of that at the commencement of the year.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Joseph Almond, a slight alteration in the Rules, of which due notice had been given, was unanimously adopted; Rule xii. to read—"Each ordinary member shall pay on election an entrance fee of ten shillings and sixpence, and an annual subscription," etc.

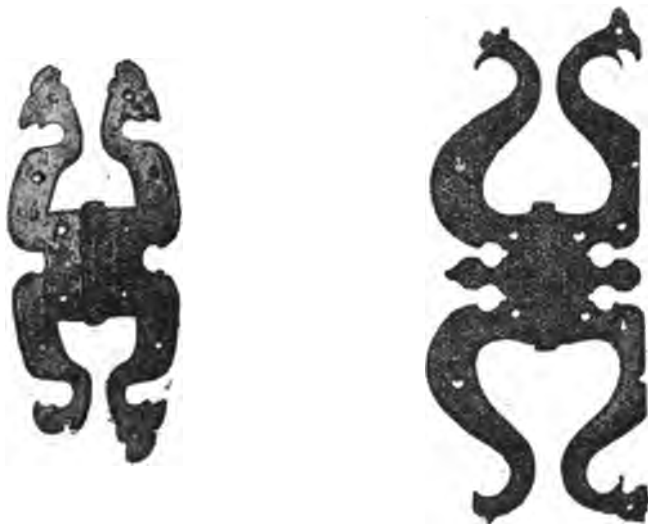
Owing to the absence of Col. Bramble, there was no President's Address, and the meeting at once proceeded to elect Officers and Committee for the new year, the result being as follows:—President, the Right Rev. G. Forrest Browne, D.C.L., F.S.A., Bishop of Bristol; Vice-Presidents, the Right Rev. Wm. Brownlow, D.D., Bishop of Clifton, and Lieut.-Col. J. R. Bramble, F.S.A.; Hon. Treasurer, Mr. R. Hall Warren, F.S.A.; Hon. Secretary, Mr.

Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A.; Committee, Prof. C. Lloyd Morgan, F.R.S., Messrs. W. R. Barker, John Latimer, A. T. Martin, F.S.A., John E. Prichard, and Thos. S. Pope.

There being a vacancy through the retirement of Mr. F. J. Fry, who had left Bristol, the Rev. George S. Master, M.A., of Bourton Grange, was unanimously elected a member of the Club.

The Hon. Secretary exhibited, by the kindness of Mr. Hughes, a sculptured stone from an old Bristol house, representing the City arms, with a lion and unicorn as supporters, and made some remarks on the very incorrect manner in which the Bristol arms are now represented by public bodies and others. The Chairman (Mr. Barker) said the subject was one in which he had been taking much interest, and he hoped to give the Club the results of his researches at a future meeting. He had been in communication with the Heralds' College in London, and other authorities. Sixteenth and seventeenth representations of the arms were exhibited by Mr. Hudd.

Mr. John E. Pritchard exhibited (I.) two seventeenth century wrought iron hinges, ornamented with birds' heads. The smaller one, which measures $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. long by $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. broad, when open, came from the Registrar's House, College Green, Bristol, and was recently removed from a cupboard door during the reparation and alteration of that dwelling. The date of the house is 1664, and this hinge is doubtless original work.



There are five hinges of similar design—two on one door and three on another—at Rodway House, Mangotsfield, Gloucester, which was visited by the Club quite lately. This old Manor House was

repaired in 1663.¹ It is thus interesting to note that the exact date of the fashioning of the iron work in each case is corroborated.

At Llangynhafel Church,² Denbighshire, also, there are some identical hinges on a cupboard, which bears similar panelling to that of a pew which is dated 1660.

The larger hinge, measuring 10 in. long by 4½ in. broad, was, when perfect, of more elegant character. This came from another house in the heart of old Bristol, and may be attributed to about 1625.

(II.) A mediæval tile, from Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucester, evidently fifteenth century work, and made at the Malvern Kiln; it bears the Royal Arms of England—three lions on a shield with heads to sinister—the angles containing rudely designed fleur-de-lis. There are many other examples known with the devices reversed, but there is no significant meaning; the error was due to the maker of the stamp forgetting to reverse, but directly the blunder was noticed, the stamp was no longer used, and this explains their rarity, for they are seldom met with.

A somewhat similar specimen, but with birds in the angles, is recorded by the late Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, at Haccombe,³ Devon; and Mr. Ward illustrates a tile from Dale⁴ Abbey, bearing the Arms of England and France, with the Royal Arms in first and fourth quarterings, having the lions' heads to sinister.

(III.) Two circular brass calendars engraved on both sides; one dated 1745, from Cirencester, was marked on one side with the dates of new and full moon, Easter, etc., and on the other with the dates of the Sundays in each month, and the name of the maker, "T. Turner, fec." The other, dated 1801, was from an old house in Bristol.

The newly elected President (the Bishop of Bristol) having taken the Chair, called upon Dr. A. C. Fryer to read his paper on "Cresset-stones." This was illustrated by drawings and photographs of most of the examples remaining in England, and included some account of the somewhat similar "stone lamp niches" found in ancient churches and monasteries. The paper is printed at pp. 293-299.

The next paper was by Mr. Roland W. Paul, Architect, on "Some recently discovered Norman remains of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol," and was illustrated by ground plans and elevations prepared by the author. The paper contained some interesting suggestions respecting the arrangement of the monastic buildings,

¹ This house, which has been in the possession of the "Cave" family during the present century, is to be again repaired and altered, this summer, for occupation by Mr. Charles H. Cave. [See *Some Ancient English Homes*, by Elizabeth Hodges].

² *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, vol. i., p. 38.

³ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. iv., pl. 2, fig. 3.

⁴ *Reliquary* [new series], vol. v., pl. 6, fig. 17.

and Mr. Paul promised to continue his researches, and to endeavour to prepare a ground plan of the Norman Abbey for publication in the *Proceedings*, no such plan being at present known.

Some discussion followed both papers, in which the President, Canon Tetley, Mr. T. S. Pope, the Hon. Secretary, and others took part.

EXCURSION TO THORNBURY AND BERKELEY.

On Monday, May 29th, 1899, the first excursion of the year took place, and was attended by twenty-seven members and friends, who in two four-in-hand coaches, supplied by the Bristol Tramways and Carriage Co., left Pembroke Road at 10 a.m., and, on reaching Thornbury at about 11.30 a.m., were received at the Castle by Mr. J. C. Gwynn, who had been requested, in the absence of Mr. and Lady R. Stafford Howard, to conduct the party round the buildings, and to give some account of their history. The members next inspected the Parish Church, dedicated to St. Mary, chiefly of fifteenth century date, but with a Norman font, late twelfth century doorways, and a fine west tower. The font is figured in Combe's *Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts*, and described as "a most interesting specimen of transition from the Norman to the Early English style. In form it resembles very much the plain Norman Font of St. Philip's, Bristol." Both the Bristol and Thornbury Fonts have been figured in our *Proceedings*, volume ii., pl. xviii., figs. 1 and 2.

Luncheon was served at the Swan Hotel, and the drive was then continued by Eastwood Park, Tortworth, and Stone to Berkeley. By kind permission of Lord Fitzhardinge, the Castle and grounds were explored under the guidance of Mr. Peter and others. The Vicar (the Rev. J. L. Stackhouse) received the members at the Parish Church, also dedicated to St. Mary, an interesting building with some good architectural features and some Berkeley monuments. After thanking the Vicar, and partaking of a cup of tea at the Berkeley Arms, the party returned to Clifton, arriving about 8 p.m., after a couple of hours' pleasant drive, which was much enjoyed.

EXCURSION TO SALISBURY, OLD SARUM, AMESBURY, AND STONEHENGE.

The second general excursion for the year took place on Thursday, July 1st, and was well attended. Leaving Bristol by the 8.12 a.m. train, Salisbury was reached at 10.30 a.m., when Mr. E. Doran Webb, F.S.A., joined the party, and kindly acted as cicerone throughout the day. Under his competent guidance

the interesting earthworks of Old Sarum, and the fine old Church at Amesbury were visited, before luncheon at the George Hotel, and later the megalithic remains of Stonehenge, the exterior of Lake House (recently restored), and the prehistoric collections in the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury, were examined and discussed. Among those who took part in the discussion were the President (the Bishop of Bristol), Bishop Brownlow, Mr. F. F. Tuckett, the Rev. W. Bagnall-Oakeley, and others.

After a cup of tea at the White Hart Hotel, where a vote of thanks to Mr. Webb was proposed by the President and carried unanimously, the members returned to Bristol by the 7 p.m. train.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 1st, 1899.

THE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL, PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The meeting was held, by invitation, at 94, Pembroke Road, and was attended by eighteen members and friends. The Hon. Secretary (Mr. Hudd) announced that at the meeting of Committee just held, it had been proposed to subscribe the sum of £5 to the Caerwent Exploration Fund, and that the £5 granted by the Club for explorations of Roman remains near Bristol¹ not having been made use of, should be transferred to the Fund as the first year's contribution. This was proposed, seconded, and unanimously carried.

Dr. George Parker exhibited two curious bronze articles from Benin, West Africa, 1, a Bracelet of good interlacing design in twisted wire, with attached moulded ornaments; 2, a Leopard, cast in bronze. Dr. Parker made some remarks on this curious development of West African art, only recently made known to us. The President, Mr. A. C. Pass, Canon Tetley, and others took part in a discussion which followed.

Mr. R. Hall Warren, F.S.A., exhibited a finely designed iron lock and key, belonging to his brother, Mr. Charles Warren, who had bought it in the neighbourhood of Silchester, where it was said to have been found. It had been submitted to Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A., of the British Museum, who pronounced it to be a good specimen of sixteenth century work. Mr. J. G. Holmes exhibited a number of photographs, taken by himself, of Malmesbury Abbey, Wilts, now under restoration. Mr. R. Hall Warren read a paper on "The Choir of Bristol Cathedral," giving an account of the changes which had taken place between the time of Henry VIII., and the recent re-arrangement; illustrated with various drawings, plans, engravings, photographs, etc. He concluded by expressing a hope that the various fragments of the screen,

¹ See ante, p. 215.

now in the Cloister, might soon be replaced inside the Cathedral. The paper is printed at pp. 220—235. The President, and Mr. and Miss Swayne took part in a discussion.

Mr. Alfred T. Martin, F.S.A., gave a brief report of the recent researches at Caerwent, by the Committee of the "Caerwent Exploration Fund"—a fund started by some members of the Club—and said that the first season's work had been most successful. See Report, pp. 236-240.

The Rev. George S. Master contributed "Some Gorge's Wills," dated A.D. 1419, 1512, and 1565, which were "taken as read," and are printed in the *Proceedings*, pp. 241-251.

MEETING, DECEMBER 8TH, 1899.

THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP BROWNLOW, VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The meeting was held, by invitation of Mr. R. Hall Warren, at No. 9, Apsley Road, Clifton, and was attended by twenty-five members and friends. Letters were read from the President and other members who were unable to be present.

The Hon. Secretary said he had received a message from Sir Geo. W. Edwards, one of the original members of the Club, to say that he wished to retire from the Club, not being able to attend the meetings. Sir George's resignation having been accepted, with regret, and two other members also having retired for the same cause (under Rule 14), the following candidates were then balloted for and elected to fill the vacancies—Mr. William Moline, Mr. E. E. Street, C.E., and Mr. Alfred Trapnell, all of Clifton.

The Chairman, Bishop Brownlow, D.D., exhibited a photograph of the Saxon leaden cross found in the Roman baths, at Bath, and gave an account of the inscription. It is now in possession of Major Davis, F.S.A. The paper is printed at pp. 252-256, with two illustrations, plates xvii. and xviii., for which we are indebted to Major Davis.

Mr. R. Hall Warren, F.S.A., exhibited casts of several Bristol and other local seals, and described a couple which were not included in his papers on the subject printed in the *Proceedings*.

Mr. John E. Pritchard exhibited some fragments of Samian and other Roman pottery, a very fine coin of Allectus, and other remains recently found at Sea Mills (Abone); also numerous fragments of pottery, ranging in date from Norman to recent times, coins, tobacco-pipes, etc., from recent excavations in Bristol.

Dr. Bertram Rogers exhibited several views of the Old Hotwell House, Clifton, and read a paper on "The History of the Clifton Hotwells," from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

A paper on "The Heraldry of Bristol Cathedral," by Mr. F. Were, of Gratwicke Hall, communicated by Canon Tetley, was "taken as read," and will be printed in the next part of the *Proceedings*.

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.
JANUARY 19TH, 1900.

THE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL, PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The meeting was held at the house of the Hon. Secretary, 94, Pembroke Road, and was attended by eighteen members and some friends.

The Hon. Secretary (Mr. Hudd) gave a brief account of the proceedings of the Club during the year, 1899. Three evening meetings and two excursions had been well attended, some valuable papers had been communicated, and many objects of antiquarian interest had been exhibited. Excavations had been promoted by the Club at Clifton Camp, the Roman road on Durdham Down, at the recently discovered Roman villa at Brislington (within the Bristol boundary), and on a much larger scale at Caerwent, Monmouthshire. Five new members were elected during the year, and several gentlemen were still waiting for vacancies.

The Hon. Treasurer (Mr. Warren) was unable to be present, but sent a statement of accounts, which had been kindly audited by Mr. Hudson Smith, and showed that the financial condition of the Club was very good, though the balance in hand was somewhat less than last year, chiefly owing to the contribution of £5 to the Caerwent Exploration Fund, and the increased cost of illustrations for the last part of the *Proceedings*.

The President then delivered an Address on the subject of "Some results of the Battles of Deorham and Wanborough," which is printed at pp. 264-276. One result of these battles had been the settlement in the great forest of Selwood of a large number of Britons, and from these rather than from the Britons of South Wales, the Bishop thought it probable, proceeded the Bishops and priests to meet St. Augustine at the Great Oak near Cricklade, not at Aust on the Severn, as had been supposed.

Dr. John Beddoe, F.R.S., thought it improbable, considering the strength of the racial animosity between the Welsh and the Saxons, that the alliance between the former and the Wiccians, entered into to oppose Ceawlin, would have continued very long. ("I only ask for seven years," commented the President.) With regard to the persistence of the wedge of British territory, including the forests of Selwood and Braden, or in other words the valleys of

the Upper Avon and its tributaries, it was Dr. Guest, he thought, who started that idea, and supported it by elaborate arguments based mainly on the run of the local dykes. There was, perhaps, more doubt now about the age of these dykes than there used to be. But, he thought, that from the anthropological point of view also, there was something to be said for this theory, which lay at the base of the President's interesting paper. The people of the Upper Avon valley gave him the impression of being on the whole more Romano-British in origin, and less Saxon than those of East Wiltshire and East Gloucestershire. And this impression was based not only on the greater frequency of dark hair, but on something in the form of the head. The pentagonal and beloid forms of Sergi seem to have been comparatively more frequent among the Romano-Britons, and the ellipsoid among the Saxons. Not that he wished to lay too much stress on that, nor to claim anything like certainty in the discrimination. The lamented Professor Rolleston once said to him, in the Museum at Oxford, "It is often the case, Beddoe, that I can't myself tell whether a given skull is Saxon or British; but it is seldom that my assistant, Mr. Robertson, is at fault."

He (Dr. Beddoe) had been accustomed to please himself with a conjecture, it was nothing more than a conjecture, that the persistence of a British population about Malmesbury might have had something to do with the great favour shewn to that place by Athelstane, "the giver of bracelets to the nobles." The burgesses' lands at Malmesbury were said to have been given by him as a reward for the valour shewn by the Malmesburians at Brunanburgh. Might not the fact that they belonged to an alien and despised race have heightened his appreciation of their fidelity and valour.

In thanking the Bishop for his interesting Address, Bishop Brownlow said he had always thought the tradition which connected Aust, on the Severn, with St. Augustine's conference with the British Christians entitled to respect, but the President had certainly given valuable suggestions in favour of a more eastern site, in the neighbourhood of Cricklade.

On the motion of the Rev. Canon J. G. Tetley, M.A., seconded by Dr. John Beddoe, F.R.S., and carried unanimously, the President, Officers, and Committee of the Club were re-elected for the year 1900, with thanks for their past services.

The President exhibited a "rubbing" and photographs of a very large cup-marked stone which he had found in North Italy during his summer holiday, marked with upward of 150 depressions, a larger number than had been found elsewhere on a single stone. His Lordship made some remarks on the possible use of these cup-marked stones, which still remained among the antiquarian puzzles that require solution.

The Hon. Secretary exhibited some Roman coins, of the Constantine period, fragments of pottery, tesserae, etc., from the recently discovered Roman villa at Brislington, just within the lately extended

boundary of the city and county of Bristol. Mr. Hudd gave a brief account of the remains, as far as they had been excavated, and said there were more or less remains of several tessellated pavements, some portions of which would be removed to the Bristol Museum, having been presented by the owners, the Bristol District Land Company.¹

Mr. John E. Pritchard exhibited some coins, Samian and other pottery (with several potter's marks), and other Roman remains, recently found at Sea Mills (the Roman Abone), and said he hoped these also would eventually find a home in the Museum, where there are already some Roman remains from the site, including the well known inscribed Roman tombstone.

Professor C. Lloyd Morgan, F.R.S., read a paper on "Some recent excavations in Stokesleigh Camp," with references to the other Camps of the Avon, on Clifton Down, and at Burwalls. Some discussion followed in which the President, Secretary and other members took part. The paper, with plans, etc., will be printed in our next volume.

¹ Remains of two Pavements and many small antiquities have been removed to the Museum, but no *complete* ground-plan of the House or Houses has yet been prepared. Part of the site is now built over, and the remainder will soon share the same fate. Ed. June, 1900.

INDEX.

- Abone (Sea Mills), Roman remains from, 305, 307
- Almond, Joseph, 200
- Almondbury Church, 81
- Amesbury, Wilts, excursion to, 303
- Ancient Bristol Documents, No. XIV., An early fourteenth century conveyance of a house in "ffrombrugge stret," with notes, by R. Hall Warren, F.S.A., 12-17 (Plate II.); the "Cabot roll," 85; No. XV., a deed relating to St. James's Priory, by John Latimer, 109-138, 213
- Annual meeting, Jan. 1897, 77; Jan. 1898, 209; Jan. 1899, 300; Jan. 1900, 306.
- Archæological Notes in 1899, by John E. Pritchard, F.S.A., 257-263.
- Arms of the City of Bristol, 301
- Aust and St. Austin, 43-47, 82, 264-276, 307
- Austin, Judge, elected a member, 77
- Bagnall-Oakeley, Mrs., on Knole-park and its owners, 82, 83
- Banwell, Church, 79; Camp, 79, 159; Cruciform earthwork, 79, 199-208 (Plate XII.); Bronze palstave from, 212
- Barker, W. R., re-elected Vice-President, 77, 209; exhibits antiquities from the Bristol museum, 85; on Chatterton, the poet, 86; Ancient Standard Weights and Measures, 95-108 (Plates VI. and VII.), 210; the Poet Cowper's Chair, 218; presides at Meeting, 300; elected on Committee, 301, 307; on the Arms of Bristol, 301
- Barstow, H. C., elected a member, 77
- Bath, Saxon leaden cross from, 252-256; 305 (Plates XVII. and XVIII.)
- Beddoe, Dr. John, F.R.S., remarks of the President's Address on the results of the Battles of Deorham and Wanborough, 306, 307
- Benin, bronzes from, exhibited, 304
- Berkeley Castle and Church, excursion to, 303
- Bramble, Lt.-Col. J. R., F.S.A., President's Address 1896 (incorrectly printed 1897), 73-76, 77; re-elected President, 77, 209; at Dolbury Camp, 78; President's Address, 1897, 89-93, 209; on *Two Effigies*, at Mangotsfield, 154-157, illustrated; on Portbury Church, 211; on "Porch-galleries," 212; elected Vice-President, 300; re-elected, 307
- Brislington, Roman villa discovered at, 306, 308
- Bristol, the Bishop of, elected a member, 84; elected President, 300, 302; re-elected, 307; Paper on "Some Results of the Battles of Deorham and Wanborough," 264-276; Plan, 306; at Salisbury and Stonehenge, 304; presides at Stonehenge, 304; presides at meeting, 304, 306; exhibits rubbings and photographs of cup-marked stone, 307
- Bristol.—The Chapel on Old Bristol Bridge, 1-11, 77 (Plate I.); Ancient Bristol Documents, *see* above; Bristol Castle, Existing Remains, Paper on, 17-19, 158; Vanishing Bristol, 48-54; Plate III. (The Pithay), 85; Local finds in 1897, 55-57, 85 (Plate IV.); ancient remains on Brandon hill, 84; antiquities from the Bristol Museum, 85; "A Lost Feature of Bristol Cathedral," 85, 217-219 (Plates XIII. and XIV.); Chatterton tablet, 86; Gallows-acre Lane, 93, 94; Standard weights and measures in the Museum, 95-108; (Plates VI. and VII.), 210; St. James's Priory, 109-138; coins, 158; the Pithay, 159, 160, 218; cannon-balls, shot, pipes, etc., found in, 160, 161, 213; antiquities in Bristol Museum, 210; Cathedral monuments, 214; Roman road crossing Durdham Down, 216; Cathedral choir, 220-235, 290-292; (Plates XV. and XVI.). Archæological notes 1898, finds in Bristol, etc., 257-263; Bristol Farthings and Tokens, 277-289 (Plate XX.); Brass Calendar, 1801, from, 302; Norman remains of St. Augustine's Abbey, Paper read by Mr. R. W. Paul, 302; the Heraldry of Bristol Cathedral, 206
- Brownlow, Bishop, D.D., elected on Committee, 77; Paper on The

- Basilica of San Clemente, Rome, 139-153 (Plates VIII. and IX.), 213; the Saxon Cross found at Bath 1898, 252-206, 305 (Plates XVII. and XVIII.); elected Vice-President, 300; re-elected, 307; at Salisbury and Stonehenge, 304; presides at meeting, 305; on Saint Augustine's conference, 307
- Bulleid, Arthur, F.S.A., elected a member, 211
- Cabot-roll, facsimile of, exhibited, 85
- Calendars, brass, exhibited, 302
- Caerwent, Report of excavations at, 236-240 304, 305, 306
- Camps, Dolbury, 78; Knole-park, 82; Banwell, 79; 159; Cadbury, 160; Stokesleigh, 212; Clifton, 215
- Cashmore, Saml., death of, 211, 216
- Cave, D. C. A., elected a member, 77
- Chester-Master, Col., receives the Club at Knole-park, 82
- Churchill, Somst., The Heraldry of the Jennyns Brass at, 71, 72; the Church visited, 78
- Cirencester, excursion to, 80; Discovery of the "Basilica" at, 87; brass Calendar from, 302
- Clapton-in-Gordano, Church, 162-168; 212 (Plate X.)
- Clevedon, the Church of St. Andrew, 58-70 (Plate V., vol. iii., 240); Cole-ridge Cottage at, 68, 69; Ancient British Grave, 160
- Clifton, Clifton Camps, 212, 306; Roman road at, 306; History of the Clifton Hotwells, 305
- Coins found in Bristol, 158, 159
- Cresset-stones, Dr. Fryer on, 216, 293-299, 302
- Cricklade, 307
- Cripps, Wilfrid, F.S.A., receives the Club at Cirencester, 80, 87
- Davis, Major, F.S.A., The Saxon Cross found at Bath 1898, 252-256, 305 (Plate XVII. and XVIII.)
- Deorham, Results of the Battle of, 264-276, 306
- Dolbury Camp, 78
- Drake, R. Milverton, on Portishead Church, 211
- Easton-in-Gordano, 210
- Edwards, Sir Geo. W., retires from Club, 305
- Egyptian History, The Dawn of, 172-198
- Englishcombe, The Wansdyke near, 78
- Farthings and Tokens of Bristol, 277-289 (Plate XX.)
- Fry, Francis J., Resignation of, 212, 301
- Fryer, Dr. A. C., on the Chapel of St. Brandon, Bristol, 84; exhibits some Antique Gems, 213; Paper on Cresset-stones, 292-299
- George, William, on Chatterton's School, 87
- Gorges Wills, some, 241-251, 305
- Gloucestershire, Aust, 43-47, 82, 267-276; Almondsbury, 81; Westbury-on-Trym, 20-42, 81; Over Court, 81; Olveston Church, 81; Knole Park, 82; Cirencester, 80, 87, 302; Mangotsfield, 154-157, 215; Rodway, 215, 301; Deorham (Dyrham), the Battle of, etc., 264-276, 306; Sudeley Castle, 296; Wotton-under-Edge, 302; Thornbury Castle and Church, 303; Berkeley Castle and Church, 303
- Hodges, Miss E., at Rodway Manor, 215
- Holmes, J. G., reads Paper on "A Lost Architectural Feature of Bristol Cathedral," 85; Paper printed, 217-219; exhibits Photographs of Ancient Churches, 85, 304
- Hudd, Alfred E., F.S.A., Hon. Sec., Paper on the Chapel of the Assumption on Old Bristol Bridge, 1-11 (Plate I.), 77; on the Wansdyke at Englishcombe, 78; exhibits facsimile of the "Cabot-Roll," 85; on the Chatterton Tablet, 87; on Gallows-acre lane, 93, 94; re-elected Hon. Sec., 77, 209, 300, 307; Testimonial presented to, 209; Report for 1898, 300; exhibits 16th and 17th century representations of the Arms of Bristol, 301; on the Caerwent Exploration Fund, 304; Report of Proceedings of Club, 1899, 306; exhibits Roman Remains from Brislington, 308
- Hughes, Walter W., exhibits sculptured stone with Bristol Arms, 301
- "In Gordano," origin of, 171
- Ironwork, an ancient Lock and Key exhibited, 304
- Jennyns Brass, at Churchill, Somerset, 71
- Jose, Rev. S. P., receives the Club at Churchill, 78
- Knole-park, Almondsbury, visited, 82

Latimer, J., re-elected on Committee, 77, 209, 301, 307 ; Notes on a Deed relating to the partition of the property of St. James's Priory, Bristol, 109-138, 213
 Lippincott, R. C., receives the Club at Over Court, 81
 Llanthony Abbey, Mon., 84

Malmesbury, 304, 307
 Mangotsfield, Two effigies at, 154-157 (illustration) ; excursion to, 215 ; iron hinges at, 301
 Martin, A. T., F.S.A., re-elected on Committee, 77, 209, 301, 307 ; report of the excavations at Caerwent, 1899, 286-246, 305
 Master, Rev. G. S., Some Gorges Wills, 241-251, 305 ; elected a member, 301
 Mayor of Bristol (Sir R. Symes), congratulations to, 209 ; reply, 210
 Moline, William, elected a member, 305
 Monmouthshire, Caerwent, 236-240, 304, 306
 Morgan, Prof. C. Lloyd, F.R.S., re-elected a member, 77 ; at Stokesleigh Camp, 212 ; elected on Committee, 301 ; re-elected 307 ; on Stokesleigh and other Camps near Clifton, 308

Old Sarum, excursion to, 303
 Over Court visited, 81

Parker, Dr. George, on some Bronzes from Benin, 304
 Pass, A. C., re-elected on Committee, 77, 209 ; on Benin Bronzes, 304
 Paul, Roland W., on the Norman Remains of St. Augustine's Abbey, 302
 Pellow, Fleetwood, proposes congratulations to the Mayor, 209
 Pope, Thos. S., re-elected on Committee, 77, 209, 301, 307 ; on Bristol Cathedral, 303
 Portbury and Portishead Churches, 211, 212
 President's Address for 1899, 264-276, 306
 Pritchard, John E., F.S.A., on Bristol Castle, existing Remains, 17-19, 77, 158 ; Vanishing Bristol, a plea for the more careful recording of existing Relics of domestic Architecture in Bristol, 48-54 (Plate III.), 85 ; Some local finds in 1897, 55-57 (Plate IV.), 85 ; re-elected on Committee, 77, 209, 301, 307 ; Archaeological Notes, 1898, 158-161, 213 ; Water Jar from Easton-in-Gordano, 210 ; exhibits Pilgrim's Bottle from

Wiltshire, 216 ; Archaeological Notes for 1899, 257-263 ; Bristol Tokens of the 16th and 17th centuries, with special reference to the square farthings, 277-289 (Plate XX.) ; exhibits 17th century hinges (illustrated), 301 ; an heraldic Tile from Wolton-under-Edge, 302 ; exhibits Roman Remains from Sea Mills (Abone), 305, 307 ; Norman and Mediæval Pottery from Bristol, 305

Rodway Manor, Glouce., 215, 301
 Rogers, Dr. Bertram, elected a member, 216 ; reads Paper on the History of the Clifton Hotwells, 305
 Rome, the Ancient Basilica of San Clemente, 139-153 (Plates VIII. and IX.), 218
 Roman Remains, *see* Bristol, Brislington, Bath, Caerwent, Sea Mills, etc.
 Rowley, Prof. J., on the Poet Cowper's Chair in the Bristol Museum, 210, 218
 Rules, Alteration of, 300

Salisbury, Excursion to, 303
 Saxon leaden Cross from Bath, 252-256 (Plates XVII. and XVIII.)
 Sea Mills, Roman Remains from, 305, 308
 Smith, J. Hudson, audits accounts, 306
 Somerset, Clevedon, 58-70 ; Churchill, 71, 72, 78 ; Engliscombe, 78 ; Wansdyke, 78 ; Barrow-hill, 78 ; Dolbury and Banwell Camps, 78 ; Banwell Church and Cross-mound, 79 ; ancient Spur from Saltford, 84 ; Antiquities found at Banwell, Cadbury camp, Clevedon, and Weston-in-Gordano, 159-160 ; Clapton-in-Gordano Church, 162-168 (Plate X.) ; Walton-in-Gordano Church, 169-171 (Plate XI.) ; Easton-in-Gordano, 210 ; Portbury, Portishead, Weston, and Clapton-in-Gordano, 211-212 ; Weston-in-Gordano, Porch-gallery in the Church, 212 ; Banwell-hill, 212 ; Saxon Cross from Bath, 252-256, 305 ; Brislington, 306, 308
 Stonehenge, excursion to, 303
 Street, E. E., elected a member, 305
 Swayne, S. H., exhibits vellum books, etc., from Abyssinia, 216

Taylor, Rev. C. S., M.A., Paper on the Church and Monastery of Westbury-on-Trym, 20-42, 81 ; on Aust and St. Austin, 48-47, 82 ; retires from

- Committee, 77 ; on Banwell Church, 79 ; exhibits a Bronze Palastave from Banwell, 218
- Tetley, Canon J. G., elected a member, 210 ; on the Poet Cowper, 218, 215 ; on Bristol Cathedral, 303, 306 ; proposes re-election of Officers, 307
- Thornbury Castle and Church, Excursion to, 303
- Tokens and Farthings of Bristol, 277-289 (Plate XX.)
- Trapnell, Alfred, elected a member, 305
- Tuckett, F. Fox, "On the Dawn of Egyptian History in the light of recent discoveries," 172-198, 216 ; at Salisbury and Stonehenge, 304
- Walton-in-Gordano, 169-171 (Plate XI.)
- Wanborough, Results of the Battle of, 264-276
- Warren, R. Hall, F.S.A., on an early 14th century conveyance of a house in "ffrombrugge stret," with notes, 11-16 (Plate II.) ; the Church of St. Andrew, Clevedon, 58-70 (Plate V., vol. iii., 240) ; Treasurer's Report 1896, 77 ; 1897, 209 ; elected Treasurer, 77 ; re-elected, 209, 300, 307 ; on Clapton-in-Gordano Church, 162-168 (Plate X.), 212 ; on Walton-in-Gordano Church, 169-171 (Plate XI.) ; on the Choir of Bristol Cathedral, 220-235, 304 ; Appendix, 290-292 ; Treasurer's report 1898, 300 ; for 1899, 306 ; Meeting at the house of, 305 ; exhibits casts of undescribed Bristol Seals, 305
- Warren, Charles, 16th century Lock and Key exhibited, 304
- Whatley, E., receives the Club at Cirencester, 80
- Webb, E. Doran, F.S.A., receives the Club at Salisbury, etc., 303
- Were, F., on the Heraldry of the Jennyns Brass, Churchill, Som., 71, 72, 78 ; on the Heraldry of Bristol Cathedral, 306
- Westbury-on-Trym, The Church and Monastery at, 20-42, 81
- Weston-in-Gordano, Worked Flints from, 160 ; Church, 212
- Wilson, E., Curator of the Bristol Museum, on the Poet Cowper's Chair, 210 ; on a Collection of Bones, etc., from a Cavern at Uphill, Som., 210 ; death of, 211
- Wiltshire, Amesbury, Old Sarum, Salisbury, and Stonehenge, 303
- Wotton-under-Edge, Heraldic Tile from, 302

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1897.**

1. The Society shall be called the "CLIFTON ANTIQUARIAN CLUB."

2. The chief object of the Club shall be the investigation of antiquities, especially of those in the surrounding country.

3. The Club shall consist of not more than Fifty Ordinary and Ten Honorary Members.

4. The Officers of the Club shall be—a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, and a Secretary, all of whom shall be elected annually from amongst the Ordinary Members.

5. The affairs of the Club shall be managed by a Committee, consisting of the Officers and six Members to be elected annually; three to form a quorum.

6. Ordinary Members shall be elected at a General Meeting, by ballot. Candidates must be previously nominated in writing by two Members, and approved by the Committee: the names of all candidates must be sent to every Member at least seven days before the Meeting. One adverse vote in ten shall be sufficient to exclude.

7. Honorary Members shall be elected by the unanimous vote of the Committee.

8. The Committee shall have the power of inviting not more than five gentlemen to attend any meeting of the Club.

9. There shall each year be two excursions, and two meetings for general purposes, one of which—to be held in January—shall be the Annual Meeting for the election of

new Members and the appointment of Officers. At least seven days' notice of all meetings shall be given to every Member by the Secretary.

10. Special Meetings may be called by the Committee. The Secretary shall call a Special Meeting within ten days of receiving a written request to that effect specifying the object of the Meeting and signed by not less than ten Members.

11. Each Member shall give three days' notice to the Secretary of his intention to join the excursion meetings, and he shall be at liberty to introduce a lady, subject to the same rule as regards the notice. The expenses of each excursion shall be defrayed by those who attend it, or who have signified their intention to do so to the Secretary.

12. Each Ordinary Member shall pay an Entrance Fee of Ten Shillings and Sixpence, and an Annual Subscription of Ten Shillings and Sixpence, which shall become due on the first day of January in each year, and shall be paid in advance.

13. Members whose subscriptions are in arrear for one year shall be considered as having withdrawn from the Club if, after application, the same be not paid.

14. Any Member being absent from four consecutive meetings without explaining the cause of his absence to the satisfaction of the Committee, shall be considered to have retired from the Club.

15. All matters not included in the foregoing Rules shall be settled by a majority of two-thirds of the Committee, provided that any Member may appeal from their decision to a General Meeting of the Club, at which the votes shall be taken by ballot.

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